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A COMPANION TO JOSEPHUS IN THE MEDIEVAL WEST

Edited by

KAREN M. KLETTER & PAUL C. HILLIARD

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A Companion to Josephus in the Medieval West

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In Memoriam T.A.B.

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Abbreviations

Blatt	F. Blatt, ed., *The Latin Josephus, I: Introduction and Text. The Antiquities: Books I–V* (Copenhagen: 1958)
CBMLC	Corpus of British Medieval Library Catalogues
CCCM	Corpus Christianorum Continuatio Mediaevalis
CCSL	Corpus Christianorum Series Latina
CLA	E.A. Lowe, *Codices Latini Antiquiores: A Palaeographical Guide to Latin Manuscripts Prior to the Ninth Century*, 12 vols. (Oxford: 1934–1971)
Companion to Josephus	Honora Howell Chapman and Zuleika Rodgers, eds., *A Companion to Josephus* (Chichester: 2016)
CSEL	Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum
De excidio	Ps.-/Hegesippus, *De excidio Hierosolymitano or Hierosolymitanae*
EETS	Early English Text Society
MGH	Monumenta Germania Historiae
Capit.	Capitula
Con.	Concilia
QQ	Quellen zur Geistesgeschichte des Mittelalters
SC	Sources Chrétiennes
SS	Scriptores
PL	Patrologia Latina
Schreckenberg, *Flavius-Josephus-Tradition*	Heinz Schreckenberg. *Die Flavius-Josephus-Tradition in Antike und Mittelalter* (Leiden: 1972).
Ussani	Hegesippus/Ps.-Hegesippus, *De excidio*, in V. Ussani and K. Mras, eds., *Hegesippi qui dicitur Historiae libri V*, CSEL 66.1–2 (Vienna: 1932–60)

Notes on Contributors

Carson Bay
Ph.D. (2018), Florida State University, is Program Manager of the Office of National & International Scholarships & Fellowships, and Part-Time Assistant Professor of Religious Studies, at Kennesaw State University in Kennesaw, GA. He also serves as Academic Coordinator for the "Interactive Histories, Co-Produced Religions" project at the Institute for Advanced Studies – Princeton and the University of Bern, Switzerland. He has published several articles on Josephus and the Latin Josephus tradition, as well as Biblical Heroes and Classical Culture in Christian Late Antiquity: The Historiography, Exemplarity, and Anti-Judaism of Pseudo-Hegesippus (Cambridge, 2023).

Susan B. Edgington
is an Honorary Senior Research Fellow at Queen Mary University of London. Her primary interest is in the First Crusade and the early years of the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem, and she has edited and translated a number of texts related to the period, most importantly Albert of Aachen, Historia Ierosolimitana (Oxford, 2007). She has also published a biography of Baldwin I of Jerusalem, 1100–1118 (Routledge, 2019).

Anthony Ellis
Ph.D. (2013), is a postdoctoral scholar at the University of Bern. His research interests include ancient Greek religion, the history of emotions, forgery, and the reception of Josephus. He's currently finishing a book on the jealousy of the gods in Greek and Hebrew literature and their reception in Christian, Jewish, and Pagan Late Antiquity.

Paul Hilliard
Ph.D. (2008), University of Cambridge, is an associate professor and department chair of Church History at the University of Saint Mary of the Lake/ Mundelein Seminary. His research interests are on early medieval intellectual history, especially the writing of the Venerable Bede. His most recent article 'Bede's Martyrology: a resource and spiritual lesson' can be found in P. Darby and M. MacCarron, eds., *Bede the Scholar* (Manchester, UK, 2023).

Karen Kletter
currently holds the Mclean Endowed Chair in the History Department of Methodist University in Fayetteville, North Carolina. Her research interests are

in medieval intellectual and cultural history and Jewish-Christian relations in the High Middle Ages in Northwestern Europe.

She has written about the medieval reception of Josephan material most recently in her essay "The Christian Reception of Josephus in Late Antiquity and the Middle Ages" in the *Wiley-Blackwell Companion to Josephus* (2016).

Justin Lake

Ph.D. (2008), Harvard University, is an Associate Professor of Classics at Texas A&M University, College of Arts & Sciences. He specializes in Medieval Latin literature (particularly the historical literature of the Early and High Middle Ages), medieval rhetoric and grammar, and classical reception in the Middle Ages.

Richard Matthew Pollard

Ph.D. (2009), University of Cambridge, is professeur at the Université du Québec à Montréal (UQAM). He is the editor of Imagining the Medieval Afterlife (Cambridge, 2020), and co-author of Codex epistolaris Carolinus (Liverpool, 2021). At UQAM, he leads the Latin Josephus Project (www.latinjosephus.org), which has now edited the Antiquities and its early medieval glosses.

Graeme Ward

Ph.D. (2014), University of Cambridge, is a visiting researcher at the University of Tübingen. He has published on various aspects of Carolingian intellectual culture, including *History, Scripture, and Authority in the Carolingian Empire: Frechulf of Lisieux* (Oxford, 2022).

Julian Yolles

Ph.D. (2015), Brepols Publishers, is Publishing Manager for Corpus Christianorum. He has published articles, translations, and a monograph on Latin literary culture in the medieval Levant, including *Making the East Latin: The Latin Literature of the Levant in the Era of the Crusades* (Harvard, MA, 2022).

When Titus Flavius Josephus ben Matthias Arrived in Rome: Introducing the Latin Medieval Josephus

Karen M. Kletter and Paul Hilliard

The focus of this volume is the use and reception of Josephus and his content after the 7th century, when all of his works, with the exception of his *Vita*, had been translated into Latin. While the textual foundation of the reception of Josephus in the Latin West was established by the 7th century, present-day contemporary readers must set aside much of what they know about Josephus the individual. What is known, taught, and thought about Josephus in this present era is based on the engagement with Josephus and his Greek texts beginning in the early modern period, and therefore with more modern tools of textual and historical criticism. This picture of the Jewish historian is the Josephus who is best known in the twentieth and twenty-first centuries.[1] It is the aim of this volume to present Josephus as understood and used by the Latin Middle Ages, which also requires engaging with the Christian adaptation of Josephus, known as *De excidio Hierosolymitano*.

Josephus' name, if not all of his actual writings, were well-known in the Middle Ages, but the ways in which medieval individuals understood Josephus and his texts were informed by a long tradition beginning in the 4th century, which continued to develop throughout the entire course of the Middle Ages. To his Latin Christian medieval readers, the works of Josephus were useful, but the Jewish identity of the author made the texts subject to constant renegotiation during the Middle Ages. Despite the presence of the much-disputed passage known as the *Testimonium Flavianum* in the eighteenth book of the *Antiquities,* in which Josephus seemed to call Jesus of Nazareth the anointed of God, Josephus and his works did not occupy a static position in the Christian medieval intellectual tradition. The works were useful to some aspects of biblical scholarship because they enabled exegetes to treat the literal meaning of the Old Testament, including its historical and political background. They also linked Jewish, Roman, and Christian political and spiritual/providential history and offered an insider's view of warfare and imperial policy in the Roman Empire. The acquisition of the works by ecclesiastical institutions indicates

1 For a summary of the most recent scholarship about Flavius Josephus see Honora Howell Chapman and Zuleika Rodgers, eds. *A Companion to Josephus* (Chichester: 2016). For the current projects focused on Josephus see especially the introduction, 1–3.

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interest among their personnel not only in exegesis and theology but also in the linking of ancient history to historical problems that arose from the exegetical activity and the exploration of classical antiquity as a source of intellectual inspiration.

Unlike his modern readers, his medieval readers did not necessarily regard Titus Flavius Josephus ben Matthias as a man with several possible identities, many of which overlapped or seemed inevitably to be in conflict with one another. Yet, the various elements in Josephus' full name provide a useful introduction to the varied practices of reception of his works. The Roman element of his name, from adoption into the Flavian family, highlights Josephus as a Roman historian and his imperial connections. In the Middle Ages, his favorable descriptions of Vespasian and Titus were often used to link and compare medieval rulers implicitly with virtuous Roman imperial rulers. However, these Roman details also suggest his physical and geographical estrangement from his own people and history. Josephus himself notes that despite being offered an estate outside Jerusalem as a reward for his service to the Romans, he instead left his homeland behind forever, accepting from Emperor Titus a house, pension, and Roman citizenship. The use of Greek in his writings and Josephus' use of Greek sources, for both his universal history of the Jews and his apologetic, place the author in the context of the Hellenistic culture of the eastern Mediterranean world. The intended audience of the *Jewish War* and *Antiquities*, the Greek-speaking Roman imperial aristocracy, and members of the Hellenized Jewish elite, would have been able to appreciate the wide variety in the quality, depth, and sophistication of Josephus' stylistic choices and references, such as when Josephus drew attention to the correspondences between Greek philosophy and Jewish theology. But this content was not usually accessible to readers of these Latin translations. Yet, as an author of the Roman period, his works were frequently appreciated as literary models, once again connecting his work to the perspective of a literary elite. The Jewish patronymic highlights his identity as a member of the Jewish priestly line, though his status among Jews was ambiguous after the destruction of the Temple and his service to Rome during the rebellion of 66–70 A.D. Yet, he wrote two works in defense of his people, the first in the form of a universal history, as well as an apologetic work, which not only rehearsed Jewish history in forms familiar to Greco-Roman tradition but presented the Jews as a central element in the interconnected cultures of the Ancient Near East. Christians, especially after the conversion of the Empire, adopted and adapted his works for their own purposes. Thus, Josephus as a classical author, Jewish priest-scholar, and Jewish witness to the fall of Jerusalem all shaped Christian medieval perceptions of the work.

In some ways, it is better to think of the reception of Josephus from the perspective of a tradition, rather than of the influence of discrete texts translated into Latin from Greek. Take for example Augustine of Hippo's influence on the Christian tradition. The source of Augustine's influence after his death was indeed his writing, but the teachings of Augustine could be transmitted in a variety of modalities in the Middle Ages: in the office, in epitomes, in sermons, in histories, in hagiographies, in biblical commentaries, by word of mouth, etc. Augustine's influence was greater than direct textual citations, and this is true for Flavius Josephus as well. The Latin translations of *Antiquitates* and *Bellum Judaicum* remained important throughout the period, but so too did other scholars' use of Josephus, whether in the aggressive reshaping of Josephan material in the *De excidio Hierosolymitanae* of Ps.-/Hegesippus,[2] in the strategic redeployment in Eusebius/Rufinus' *Historia Ecclesiastica*, or even in passing comments in Jerome's biblical commentaries. The name of Josephus and "what" Josephus taught could come to our medieval readers from a variety of sources. This volume aims to demonstrate the value of moving beyond textual echoes, to perceive more clearly what it means for the Christian tradition to receive and use an author and his texts.

This work is meant to assist in laying down a new foundation for the use and reception of Josephus in the Middle Ages. Two seminal studies of the medieval reception of the Latin translations and adaptations of Josephus' work established the previous foundation. For the texts themselves, Franz Blatt provided the first critical edition of part of the Latin Josephus, the first five books of *Antiquities*, and established the first working stemma for Latin Josephus manuscripts. Blatt's manuscript stemma work has been continued in the work of David Levenson and Thomas Martin,[3] while Richard Pollard, along with Josh Timmermann, Jonathan di Gregorio, Maxime Laprade, Jean-Félix Aubé-Pronce, Edward Cardwell, and William Glaeser have worked to produce a full edition in their "Latin Josephus Project".[4] A number of the essays revisit Blatt's

2 The authorship of the *De excidio* is debated. By the late Caroline and central medieval periods, the text had gained the authorial name of Hegesippus (or Egesippus) in many book lists. This text has been attributed to other authors as well, such as Ambrose or even Rufinus. In light of this debate the editors of the present volume have chosen to allow the contributors to use the nomenclature of their choice. Therefore, you may see the author of this text referred to as Anonymous, Pseudo-Hegesippus, or Hegesippus.

3 For their most recent contribution see David Levenson and Thomas Martin, "A Revised Classification of Manuscript Groups for the Early Books of the Latin Translation of Josephus's *Antiquities* Based on Textual Variants in *AJ* 6.356–360 and 6.362b," *Medievalia et Humanistica* 46 (2021): 69–146.

4 https://www.latinjosephus.org/.

observations about the Latin Josephus manuscript production. The most important contribution in the past century to the understanding of the reception of Flavius Josephus in the Middle Ages has been Heinz Schreckenberg. Schreckenberg produced an extremely useful catalogue of instances of the use of Josephus, which has guided scholars subsequently, and he also edited a number of volumes that form some of the foundations for the work in this volume. The motivation for his influential catalogue, however, was not to elucidate the medieval readership of Josephus as such, but instead, to shed light on possible lacunae in the Greek edition, that is, the project was primarily about Josephus' text and not his medieval readers. In part for that reason, Schreckenberg's studies remained relatively distant from the *De excidio Hierosolymitano*, which throughout the Middle Ages was also a part of the Latin Josephus tradition. Our readers will find in this volume that the contributors engaged directly with medieval readers and manuscripts to understand their reception strategies. Work towards a new foundation for the reception of Josephus can also be found in recent summary articles in Part IV of *A Companion to Josephus*, especially Kletter's contribution and also in Theofili Kampianaki's recent article.[5]

The essays in this volume continue to demonstrate that the conclusions of Blatt and Schreckenberg are merely the beginning of the study of the reception and use of Josephus in the Middle Ages. When medieval individuals made use of Josephan material, the ways, means, and intentions of that use varied greatly among the authors considered in this volume. One of the central lessons demonstrated by the contributors is that the use of Josephus remained throughout the Middle Ages a source of tension. This volume has been brought together to speak to this greater awareness of the diverse reception practices and uses of Josephan material in the Middle Ages. A number of the essays in this volume will demonstrate that some of the learned opinions of Blatt and Schreckenberg have not held up to greater scrutiny. More important, however, than making corrections to the historiography, this volume helps re-establish a foundation for a more nuanced and detailed evaluation of Josephus' Latin Tradition, a foundation that makes use of a variety of methodologies and is willing to accept the tensions created by a diversity of practices. As we move beyond noting verbal echoes and textual borrowings and engage with the interpretations and intentions of medieval authors and compilers, the picture of the use of Josephus becomes more and more complex.

5 Karen M. Kletter, "The Christian Reception of Josephus in Late Antiquity and the Middle Ages" in *Companion to Josephus*, 368–381, and Theofili Kampianaki, "Perceptions of Flavius Josephus in the Medieval Greek and Latin Literary Traditions," *GRBS* 60 (2020): 290–316.

We have placed the essays in more-or-less chronological order for a reason. Over the course of the Middle Ages, the works of Josephus underwent a constant cycle of interpretation and reinterpretation. Each era in the Middle Ages, while influenced by the previous traditions, renegotiated the interpretation of the Josephus Latin Tradition for themselves. Thus, for any given span of time after Josephus' initial assimilation into the western Christian tradition, an analysis of the adaptive processes involved in the reception of Josephus must be prepared to consider earlier cycles of interpretation and reworking, or risk missing something almost certainly of great importance to medieval readers. In other words, one of the thornier problems facing any scholar attempting to trace the ways in which Christian tradition viewed and used a heavily interpreted work is keeping track of the layers of influence and interpretation and the relative emphasis each layer might have received at a given moment in time or in a given context. So, perhaps ironically, the primordiality of Christian interest in Josephus and its early impact on the Christian tradition create even more difficulties for understanding the medieval views of these works. As such many of our contributors have found it necessary to lay out the interpretative tradition in which their authors were immersed.

1 Description of the Essays

Paul Hilliard traces the initial reception of Josephan material in the early Middle Ages up to 735. He identifies patterns of use of Josephus in late antique scholarship and proceeds to examine other instances of reception, especially in the work of Bede. He makes a case that the authors under investigation established long-lasting and varied models for how a medieval Christian scholar might use Josephus, and by doing so, he is also able to explore the varied and often competing perceptions of Josephus' authority.

Carson Bay explores the varied perceptions of how the difficult text, *De excidio*, fits into medieval perceptions of Josephus. Rather than positing confusion between the author of the text and Josephus, Bay has suggested multiple possibilities for citing the name of Josephus while using *De excidio* and Rufinus' Latin translation of Eusebius' *Ecclesiastical History*. This essay is important for seeing the reception of Josephus in terms of a complex tradition, rather than simply tracing individual texts.

Richard Pollard's essay continues the theme introduced by Hilliard in exploring the authority of Josephus. He directly engages with the claim by Schreckenberg that "Josephus often achieves almost the authority of a church father." His essay examines both the explicit and implicit authority of Josephus

in the Carolingian era. By applying field study methodologies borrowed from the hard sciences to the manuscript tradition and Carolingian writings, he is able to tease out the implicit importance and authority of Josephus to the Carolingian project of *correctio* and *renovatio*.

Graeme Ward gives us a detailed analysis of the use of Josephus by Bishop Frechulf of Lisieux (d. 850/2). Like Bede, Frechulf was an important chronicle writer who made extensive use of Josephan works in the bishop's retelling of salvation history. Ward provides a detailed analysis of the ways in which Frechulf adapts Josephus, and additionally shows that the typical separation between the genres of biblical commentaries and history was not always operative in medieval authors.

Justin Lake's essay initially surveys the Carolingian library lists and manuscripts, retracing some of the aspects treated by Pollard, but from a different perspective. He focuses on a number of different strategies of use by the Carolingians, especially Frechulf, in order to demonstrate the significant shift that occurred in the use of Josephan material in the intellectual circle connected to Rheims. By analyzing the use of the Hegesippus adaptation by four scholars from the 10th century, Lake is able to demonstrate that for this intellectual community Ps.-/Hegesippus had become an important model of how to write narrative history.

Susan Edgington directly investigates the importance of Josephus to the first waves of historiography after the First Crusade. She engages directly with Blatt's suggestion that the crusading movement led to an increased interest in the Jewish historian. She systematically assesses the earliest texts of the crusade movement for their use or lack of use of Josephus and the Josephus Tradition. Her essay is a valuable reminder of how important the attitudes of individual authors and their readers were in guiding the reception strategies of Josephus' works.

Karen Kletter focuses our attention on one region's reception of the Josephan Tradition. In particular, she examines the relationship between the Latin Josephus and the *De excidio* by English scribes, writers, and institutions. By examining the manuscript traditions of the works, she is able to demonstrate that, even as the Latin Josephus remained important throughout the long twelfth century for English readers, increasingly the *De excidio* or indirect usage of Josephus from the early medieval period were becoming the more common means of accessing the Josephan Tradition. She also provides a glimpse into the growing influence of the of *De excidio* in Norman intellectual circles and offers in this volume a preliminary list of copies of *De excidio* in the region to assist further studies of the fuller Josephan Tradition.

Anthony Ellis's essay brings a twofold benefit to the arc of Josephan reception. His detailed analysis of the editorial interventions in BnF Lat. 12511 brings us closer to the elusive reader of Josephus manuscripts. He also places the reader's interventions into the emerging hostile reception to Josephus' works and authority in the eleventh and twelfth centuries. His essay is an important reminder that the use of Josephus by authors like Bede and Frechulf was not the only strategy for use and reception, and that the readers themselves possessed agency when confronted with a Josephus manuscript. By the central medieval period, a stronger hostile reception tradition had emerged.

Julian Yolles focuses our attention on a particular community of readers: the Latin Christians in the eastern Mediterranean. He examines Latin authors who found themselves in the same geographic reality as the Jewish historian. This geographic connection played an important role in guiding this community of readers in their use of Josephus. Once again, this essay displays the importance of the individual in guiding the use of Josephus, but Yolles has demonstrated that a rough pattern of reception could emerge for a group that shares a similar geo-political context. Josephus provided this community with access to the deeper past of the eastern Mediterranean in which they lived.

2 Themes

The unity of a volume such as this is to be found in the subject matter, that is in the author himself and his texts. Here we highlight a number of themes which may prove useful to the reader of this volume. These themes are derived from the essays themselves, but also present further avenues for research in the reception of Josephus.

One of the central themes to emerge from the essays was the ongoing negotiation concerning the authority of Josephus. The question to ask again and again of our sources, is why someone would invoke or suppress the name of Josephus in their works? In the medieval authors and compilers and the manuscripts under review, we find a wide variety of attitudes towards the authority of Josephus. Among the authors, we find those who are mere name droppers, others who value Josephus due to his priestly descent, and still others who distrust Josephus as either an unbelieving or believing Jew. The Jewish historian's name possessed a multivalent meaning in the medieval West.

This negotiation over Josephus' texts and authority is also an important reminder of how Josephus both influenced and was influenced by the social dynamic between Jews and Christians in this period. One of the questions raised in this volume is the question of the uses of a Jewish text in Christian

exegesis. As will be seen in the following essays, this question does not have a single answer for the authors surveyed. This is a reminder that the complex and vacillating nature of Jewish-Christian relations in the Middle Ages exerted a profound influence on how the Christian intellectual tradition used texts deemed to be part of the Jewish other. Thus, Josephus and his works remained an operative element in all the negotiations of the social dynamic of Jewish-Christian relations throughout the period.

Another theme to be attentive to in the contributions is how medieval authors were influenced by the works of Josephus they are using. The contributions point to a distinction between those scholars, such as Jerome, Bede, and Frechulf, who engaged with *Antiquitates*, and those authors who were focused primarily on the fall of Jerusalem. The chronographic and the exegetical traditions should be seen as one current of Josephan reception, while the historical narrative and polemic traditions may be seen as a different current. Both currents come together in the confluence of medieval reception, but there does appear to be a difference in the ways and means of reception, whether a medieval author was working primarily on the Old Testament or on the Jewish/Roman War.

This volume is meant to be a new beginning for the study of Josephus' medieval reception. There are some important lacunae that we were not able to fill at this time. The liturgical reception and use of Josephus throughout the course of the Middle Ages remains an untapped resource. We can, at present, only refer readers to the pioneering work of Amnon Linder.[6] As this volume is concerned with the reception of Josephan Latin texts, the vernacular tradition has not received as extensive a review as was desired. There is no shortage of studies of later medieval uses and abuses of Josephus and Ps.-/Hegesippus in vernacular alliterative poetry, especially "The Siege of Jerusalem," and "Titus and Vespasian".[7] Bibliography leading to more studies on Josephus in vernacular literary traditions can be found in the notes of these works and in the works cited and further reading sections of Adrienne Williams Boyarin's translation of *The Siege of Jerusalem*.

6 Amnon Linder, *Raising Arms: Liturgy in the Struggle to Liberate Jerusalem in the Late Middle Ages* (Turnhout: 2003).

7 Some relatively new studies include Maija Birenbaum, "Affective Vengeance in Titus and Vespasian," *Chaucer Review* 43 (2009): 330–44 and Kara L. McShane, "Christian Imperialism and Antisemitic Violence in Titus and Vespasian," *Viator* 51.1 (2020): 345–72. Fundamental work on this offshoot of the Josephan tradition was done by Stephen K. Wright, *The Vengeance of Our Lord: Medieval Dramatizations of the Destruction of Jerusalem* (Toronto: 1989).

In general, we have also given very little space to Latin literary studies. In this volume, Julian Yolles explores the use of Josephus in verse. Other recent work includes Greti Dinkova-Bruun's "Latin Versifications of Josephus's Latin *Bellum,*" which explores Latin versifications that use both Josephus and Ps.-/Hegesippus.[8] Susanna Daub has published an edition of Laurence of Durham's *Hypognostion* that demonstrates the use of Josephus.[9] Josephus in artistic depictions is another important facet of the reputation of Josephus in the Middle Ages. For this, we can point readers towards Ulrike Liebl's survey of illuminated Josephus manuscripts, *Die illustrierten Flavius-Josephus-Handschriften des Hochmittelalters* (Frankfurt am Main, 1997).[10] Josephus' influence on exegesis and the schools has been examined in editions by Frans van Liere of Andrew of St. Victor's work, and in the work of Mark Clark, in particular *The Making of the Historia Scholastica* 1150–1200 (Toronto: 2015) and his "Peter Comestor: The Christian Josephus," in *Mélanges Gilbert Dahan*, ed. A. Noblesse (Paris: Publications de l'Institut d'Etudes Augustiniennes) (forthcoming). Finally, we recognize that the late medieval period remains in need of further research. It is our hope that the foundation presented in this book will be of assistance to late medieval scholars as they continue the story of the reception of Josephus' texts and ideas.

3 Conclusion

The contributions to this volume have clearly demonstrated the wide variety of ways in which Josephus was transmitted and received in the Latin medieval world. Each of the patterns discussed by our contributors continued to be a viable option to subsequent medieval scholars in the Christian tradition for how to use Josephan material. One conclusion of these results is that each author, and indeed even each manuscript, needs to be evaluated in light of the elements of the previous reception tradition that were available, if possible. As has become clear from the importance of *De excidio* in the following essays,

8 Greti Dinkova-Bruun, "Latin Versifications of Josephus's Latin *Bellum*," *Medievalia et Humanistica* N.S. 46 (2021): 38–53.

9 Susanne Daub, *Gottes Heilsplan Verdichtet: Edition des Hypognosticon* (Jena: 2002).

10 There are a number of studies of individual manuscripts such as Joseph Gutmann, "Josephus' Jewish Antiquities in Twelfth Century Art: Renovatio or Creatio?" *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte* 48.4 (1985): 434–441 or Walter Cahn, "An Illustrated Josephus from the Meuse Region in Merton College, Oxford," *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte* 29 (1966): 295–310.

the tradition of reception needs to include both direct and indirect sources of transmission, with *De excidio* often exerting a greater influence than the authentic Josephus works themselves. However, as demonstrated by Kletter and Pollard, even when we know the official position about Josephus, the attitudes of authors and readers may diverge from what they explicitly say. Thus, we can tentatively say that when looking beyond manuscript production, it appears that *De excidio* began to exert a great influence over the Josephan Tradition, possibly even more than the Latin Josephus itself, especially following the late Carolingian period.

The reception of Josephus in the Latin West, in its varied and complicated realities, provides a valuable perspective on medieval Jewish-Christian relations. More work, built on the foundation of the Josephan reception tradition, could be done to elucidate this most complex of topics. Josephus' authority, his texts, and Christian use were bound together in wider social movements about the relationship between the Jewish and Christian faiths, and the Jewish and Christian people.

The results of these contributions also reinforce the value of closely focused moments of reception for the study of the use of Josephus. By focusing on discrete authors, reading communities, or manuscripts, many of the nuances of reception are more likely to be discovered. Further research should be done for other authors, scribes, and intellectual communities to continue to strengthen our understanding of the authority and reception of Josephus to the Christian tradition. The importance of *De excidio* in the essays demonstrates that a fuller understanding of the manuscript tradition of that text is greatly desirable. We have provided a combined bibliography in this volume for the convenience of the reader and to assist scholars embarking on further research. Additionally, unless specified all translations are the work of the contributors.

Josephus and his texts remained one of the most important classical authors in the Latin medieval world. Importance is probably the best word because importance does not convey acceptance, but only that the Christian intellectuals of the Middle Ages had to make a decision about how to process the Jewish historian and his texts. Whether such an important figure and text received welcome, derision, suppression, or promotion, those decisions were made by the medieval scholars themselves in dialogue with the longer Christian tradition.

CHAPTER 1

The Earliest Medieval Reception of Flavius Josephus

Paul Hilliard

The period from the death of Cassiodorus to the death of Bede (585 to 735 A.D.) was an era of transition for the Latin corpus of Flavius Josephus, as his historical works became essentially intertwined with developments in Christian exegesis and historiography in the Latin West. The patterns for use of Josephan material established by prominent Christian authors of this period continued to exert influence on the reception of Josephus for the remainder of the Middle Ages, if not beyond. The Latin texts of Josephus became standard reference texts for exegetical and historical purposes throughout the Middle Ages because authoritative Christian authors of the earliest period signaled particular ways in which these texts were of utility to Christians. Although every author mentioned in this chapter can and should receive a sustained study of their use of Josephus, this essay is focused on patterns of the use of Josephus. Four patterns emerged in Late Antiquity, to which will be added two additional patterns by Cassiodorus and Bede. In total, six patterns of use of Josephus are discernable in the period from 300 to 735. Four of those patterns of reception emerged from Late Antiquity: Josephus as NT corroborator, chronographer, suspect source, or ignored source. To these four patterns two more would be added from the 6th to the early 8th centuries: Josephus as a Christianized historian and as a reliable Jewish historian. Finally, Bede is more substantially treated than the other authors in this essay, as an example of a more sustained treatment of the reception of Josephus and because Bede marks an important development in Josephan reception.

We might understand this period of slightly less than two centuries, from the 6th to the early 8th century, not only as a turning point in Christian use of Josephus, but also as a gate through which the Josephan corpus, like so many other works of antiquity, had to pass, in order to survive, not only in terms of manuscript production, but also in terms of sustained intellectual attention. To complicate matters, what might be called the priorities of the 'gate,' that is the priorities of Christian authors of the 6th to the 8th centuries, were not formulated entirely by the gatekeepers themselves, since their use of Josephan material had been in turn shaped by the Christian authors of Late Antiquity.

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1 The Patterns of Late Antiquity

Before we can examine the patterns of reception which emerged in Late Antiquity, let us first list the principal textual sources which established the reputation and the authority of Josephus for the early Middle Ages in Western Europe. Josephus' corpus received two Latin translations in Late Antiquity. The translation of the *Jewish War* emerged sometime in the 4th or 5th century.[1] The translation of all seven books of the *Jewish Wars* was known to Cassiodorus, and he commissioned a Latin translation of the *Antiquities* and *Against Apion* to complete, nearly, the Latin translations of the Josephan corpus.[2] Josephus' *Vita* appended to the Greek *Antiquities* never received a Latin translation. In addition to the more direct translations, another important source of Josephan material is Pseudo-Hegesippus' *De excidio Hierosolymitano*.[3] This forceful adaptation of the *Jewish War* emerged in the late 4th century, although the date of composition, along with the authorship of the text, is subject to debate.[4] It is better to think of this text as an adaptation, rather than a translation, for the author has used Josephus' text as a base narrative which was abridged, rearranged, but also expanded by the inclusion of additional details from other texts, especially Scripture, Josephus' *Antiquities*, Sallust, Tacitus, and a number of early Christian apocryphal works. One may think of the text as a reordered and repurposed epitome of Josephus, which has been brought into greater alignment with the author's classical and Christian sensibilities by the introduction of additional material and a new narrative voice. Overall, the adapter

1 David B. Levenson and Thomas Martin, "The Ancient Latin Translations of Josephus," in *Companion to Josephus*, 324; on the translations, in addition to the article just mentioned, see also D. Levenson and T. Martin, "The Latin Translations of Josephus on Jesus, John the Baptist, and James: Critical Texts of the Latin Translation of the Antiquities and Rufinus' Translation of Eusebius' Ecclesiastical History Based on Manuscripts and Early Printed Editions," *Journal for the Study of Judaism* 45 (2014): 1–79; T. Leoni, "Translations and Adaptations of Josephus' Writings in Antiquity and the Middle Ages," *Ostraka* 16 (2002): 481–492.

2 On the translation of Josephus at Cassiodorus' Vivarium see Richard M. Pollard, "Reading Josephus at Vivarium? Annotations and Exegesis in Early Copies of the *Antiquities*," *Florilegium* 30 (2013): 103–106; Leoni, "Translations and Adaptations," 482–486. For the most up-to-date edition of the Latin Josephus, see R.M. Pollard, J. Timmermann, J. di Gregorio, M. Laprade, and J.-F. Aubé-Pronce, 2013–2020 latinjosephus.org.

3 Ps.-Hegesippus, *De excidio*, in V. Ussani and C. Mras, eds. *Hegesippi qui dicitur Historiae libri v*, CSEL 66.1–2 (Vienna: 1932–60). See also Albert Bell Jr., "Josephus and Pseudo-Hegesippus," in *Josephus, Judaism, and Christianity*, eds. Louis Feldman and Gohei Hata (Detroit: 1987), 349–361 and R. Pollard, "The *De Excidio* of "Hegesippus" and the Reception of Josephus in the Early Middle Ages," *Viator* 46.2 (2015): 65–100. See also the work of Carson Bay, beginning especially with his contribution in this volume.

4 Both Bell and Pollard favor a date of ca. 370.

has a strong narrative voice, which controls the interpretation of the history spanning the events related in the Book of Maccabees to the Roman destruction of Jerusalem. Yet, it was not always clear to the compilers of medieval book lists whether the author of the text was someone else other than Josephus, as the text itself can vacillate between the narrative voice of Ps.-Hegesippus and Josephus.[5]

In addition to the translations and adaptation, there are a number of essential interpretative texts, all of which were accessible in decently stocked medieval libraries. The first is Eusebius' (d. ca. 339) *Ecclesiastical History*, rendered into Latin and continued by Rufinus (d. 410).[6] Next there is the work of St. Jerome (d. 419/20). In addition to Jerome's comments in his biblical commentaries, two additional texts are of importance for understanding Jerome's influence on the later Christian reception of Josephus.[7] The first is *Epistola XXII* and the second is his entry in *De viris illustribus*.[8] Finally, Cassiodorus (d. 580), who had Josephus translated, also included his works in his seminal *Institutiones divinarum*, and made use of him in his *Explanatio Psalmorum*.[9] Each of these texts established a pattern of use of Josephan materials which offered a model to early medieval authors.

2 Josephus as N.T. Corroborator

Heinz Schreckenberg published a register of authors from classical antiquity to the sixteenth century who consulted or cited Josephan works. His list shows that there was only sporadic or occasional Christian use of Josephus before the 3rd century.[10] The most significant increase in the use of Josephus came with

5 Kletter, "Christian Reception," in *Companion to Josephus*, 371. See Carson Bay's essay on substantial textual, structural, and manuscript differences in some copies of *De excidio* in comparison with translations of the Latin Josephus.

6 Eusebius/Rufinus, *Historia Ecclesiastica*, in Eduard Schwartz and Theodor Mommsen, eds. *Eusebius Werke* II/1–3: Die Kirchengeschichte (Berlin: 1903).

7 See Schreckenberg, *Flavius-Josephus-Tradition*, 93–94: The primary texts are Jerome's commentaries on Daniel, Ezekiel, Matthew, and *Quaestiones Hebraicae in Genesim*.

8 Jerome, *Epistola* XXII in I. Hilberg, ed. *CSEL* 54, (Vienna: 1910); *De viris illustribus* in A. Ceresa-Gastaldo, ed. *Gerolamo. Gli uomini illustri* (Florence: 1988) or E. Richardson, ed. *Texte und Untersuchungen* 14.1 (Leipzig: 1896), C. Bernouilli, ed. *Hieronymus-Gennadius De viris illustribus* (Freiburg and Leipzig: 1895).

9 Cassiodorus, R.A.B. Mynors, ed. *Institutiones divinarum et saecularium litterarum* (Oxford: 1937); *Expositio Psalmorum*, M. Adriaen, ed., *CCSL* 97–98 (Turnhout: 1958).

10 See especially Schreckenberg, *Flavius-Josephus-Tradition*, and H. Schreckenberg, "Josephus in Early Christian Literature and Medieval Christian Art," in *Jewish Historiography and*

Origen (d. 253/4). Schreckenberg's observations on the early use of Josephus need to be modified in light of the scholarship on Christian apologetic use of Josephus.[11] This early apologetic use indicates one of the most lasting patterns of Christian use of Josephus, that is, Christian authors using the Jewish historian to support the New Testament. In this pattern, Josephus is made into a corroborator of the New Testament, an important source of verification for aspects of early Christian history. The texts which made the greatest use of Josephus and that were also most readily available to the Latin West were the historical writings of Eusebius of Caesarea, the *Historia Ecclesiastica* and *Chronicon canones.* The *Chronicon canones* were translated into Latin and continued by Jerome. The more important text for this pattern of reception was the *Historia Ecclesiastica*, translated and continued by Rufinus of Aquila.[12] Schreckenberg's thesis regarding the dramatic uptick in interest in Josephan material after the 3rd century is that Christianity only came to a fully developed historical consciousness in the age of Constantine and that is why "it was he [Eusebius] who first fully recognized that Josephus' rich and manifold offerings for the history of the New Testament era were like a key unlocking the understanding of many texts in the gospels."[13] Or, to state the same in the words of Eusebius: "Now it is marvelous to see how closely the sacred scriptures agree with the historian of that nation."[14] The harmony between and usefulness for New Testament history led Eusebius to use large extracts from the *Antiquities* in the composition of his text. Eusebius' borrowings from Josephus have been well chronicled. In one particular section, Eusebius uses the material found in Josephus to ridicule and dismiss the problematic anti-Christian text, the *Acts of Pilate*.

Iconography in Early and Medieval Christianity, eds. Heinz Schreckenberg and Kurt Schubert (Maastricht/Minneapolis: 1992), 51–63.

11 Michael Hardwick, *Josephus as an Historical Source in Patristic Literature through Eusebius* (Atlanta: 1989); Simon Price, "Latin Christian Apologetics: Minucius Felix, Tertullian and Cyprian," in *Apologetics in the Roman Empire: Pagans, Jews, and Christians,* eds. M.J. Edwards and M. Goodman et al. (Oxford: 1999), 105–129; Michael Hardwick, "Contra Apionem and Christian Apologetics," in *Josephus' Contra Apionem*, eds. L.H. Feldman and J. Levinson (Leiden: 1996), 369–402.

12 Eusebius-Jerome, *Chronica canones*, in R. Helm, ed. *Die Chronik Des Hieronymus*, Eusebius Werke (Berlin: 1956), also in G. Brugnoli, ed. *Curiosissimus excerptor: Gli "Additamenta" di Girolamo ai "Chronica" di Eusebio* (Pisa: 1995).

13 Schreckenberg, "Josephus in Early Christian Literature," 64.

14 Eusebius/Rufinus, *Historia Ecclesiastica*, in Theodor Mommsen, ed. *Eusebius Werke*, 2.1. (Leipzig: 1903) 127: "miraculo autem dignum est tantem consonantiam divinarum scripturarum cum historiografo gentis illius deprehendi." in Rufinus of Aquileia, *History of the Church*, trans. Philip R. Amidon, SJ (Washington D.C.: 2020), 72.

Eusebius' *Historia Ecclesiastica* is also the font of two important traditions which can be seen as part of this pattern of corroboration. As part of the effort to counter the *Acts of Pilate*, Eusebius is the earliest author to cite a version of the passage known as the *Testimonium Flavianum* in 18.63–64 of *Antiquities*.[15] Since the text exerted a strong influence on the perception of Josephus' authority to Christians, it is worthwhile citing it in its western form, found in Rufinus' translation:

> During these same times there was a man, Jesus, if indeed it is right to call him a man. For he was a worker of marvelous deeds and a teacher of those people who are glad to hear the truth. He joined to himself many both of the Jews and of the gentiles. He was [the] Christ. When Pilate ordered that he be crucified, because of the charge brought against him by the leading men of our people, those who had loved him from the beginning did not abandon him. For he appeared to them alive on the third day, just as the divinely inspired prophets had foretold: this and countless other miracles that would happen concerning him. The name 'Christian' and the people who derive their name from him, have lasted to the present day.[16]

15 Schreckenberg, *Flavius-Josephus-Tradition*, 79–88, "Josephus und die christliche Wirkungsgeschichte seines 'Bellum Judaicum'," *Aufstieg und Niedergang der Romischen Welt* 2(21) (1984): 1120, 1133–1193; Robert Grant, *Eusebius as Church Historian* (Oxford: 1980), 29, 39, 100, 128, 147; Timothy Barnes, *Constantine and Eusebius* (Harvard: 1984), 164–188; Michael Hardwick, *Josephus as an Historical Source in Patristic Literature through Eusebius* (Atlanta: 1989), 99–153; D.S. Wallace Hadrill, "Eusebius of Caesarea and the *Testimonium Flavianum* (Josephus, *Antiquities*, XVIII.63f.)," *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 25 (1974): 353–362; K. Olson "Eusebius and the *Testimonium Flavianum*," *Catholic Biblical Quarterly* 61 (1999): 305–322; A. Whealey, *Josephus on Jesus: The Testimonium Flavianum Controversy from Late Antiquity to Modern Times* (New York: 2003); "The Testimonium Flavianum," in *Companion to Josephus*, 345–355; John Curran," 'To Be or to Be Thought to Be': The *Testimonium Flavianum* (Again)," *Novum Testamentum* 59 (2017): 71–94.

16 Eusebius/Rufinus, *Historia Ecclesiastica*, 1.11.7, 79–81: "Fuit autem iisdem temporibus Iesus sapiens vir, si tamen virum eum nominare fas est. Erat enim mirabilium operum effector doctorque hominum eorum, qui libenter quae vera sunt audiunt. Et multos quidem Iudaeorum, multos etiam ex gentilibus sibi adiunxit. Christus hic erat. Hunc accusatione primorum nostrae gentis virorum cum Pilatus in crucem agendum esse decrevisset, non deseruerunt hi qui ab initio eum dilexerant. Apparuit enim eis tertio die iterum vivus, secundum quod divinitus inspirati prophetae vel haec vel alia de eo innumera miracula futura esse praedixerant. Sed et in hodiernum Christianorum, qui ab ipso nuncupati sunt, et nomen perserverat et genus." trans. Amidon, 54.

The importance of the text to Eusebius, as Whealey has argued, is that Josephus (interpolated or not) is here made to strengthen the Christian New Testament's claim to historical veracity.

The other important tradition to emerge from Eusebius' text, is that he firmly connected the Roman destruction of Jerusalem to a divine act of punishment:

> after the Ascension of our Lord and Savior, divine punishment was exacted from the Jews for the crime committed against him, for their persecution of the apostles and the murder of Stephen, and also from the decapitation of the apostle James, as well as the crime done against James, the Lord's brother, who was called Justus, in addition to all the others committed against those whom because of their faith in Christ they had beset with plots, deceits, and every sort of wicked trickery.[17]

Following this passage Eusebius proceeded to extract some of the most horrific and pitiable accounts from Josephus' *Bellum*. The concluding statement to this section of woes reduces the cause of the destruction to one factor: "Such is Josephus' account, and such the punishment then inflicted upon the Jews for the crimes they committed against the Christ of God."[18] This interpretation of the destruction of Jerusalem had its beginning in Origen, but it was Eusebius who anchored the vengeance tradition in his *Historia Ecclesiastica*, thereby transmitting the Origenist interpretation throughout the Middle Ages.[19] Ps.-Hegesippus follows Josephus in attributing a vast number of causes for the destruction of Jerusalem in the preface to the *De excidio*, but like Eusebius, as his worked progressed, Ps.-Hegesippus narrowed down the number of causes for the destruction: "You have that which you have sought, you have snatched away the protector of peace from yourself. … Therefore, salvation withdrew from you, peace departed, calm ceased, sedition and destruction were given

17 Eusebius/Rufinus, *Historia Ecclesiastica*, 3.5.2, 197: "verum post ascensionem domini et salvatoris nostri Iudaei vel in ipsum commissi piaculi vel persecutionis in Apostolos et necis in Stefanum, sed et obtruncationis in apostolum Iacobum et in Iacobum nihilominus fratrem domini, qui appellabatur Iustus, sceleris admissi ceterorumque omnium, quos propter fidem Christi insidiis, dolis atque omni fraude nequitiae circumvenerant, pro his, inquam, omnibus malis poenas divinitus reposcebantur." trans. Amidon, 101.

18 Eusebius/Rufinus, *Historia Ecclesiastica*, 3.7.1, 211: "Igitur Iudaeos pro his, quae in Christum dei conmisere, piaculis talis consecuta est poena," trans. Amidon, 108.

19 Sabrina Inowlocki, "Josephus and Patristic Literature," in *Companion to Josephus*, 362; Inowlocki, *Eusebius and the Jewish Authors: His Citation Technique in an Apologetic Context* (Leiden: 2006); W. Mizugaki "Origen and Josephus," in *Josephus, Judaism, and Christianity,* 325–337.

to you."[20] Ps.-Hegesippus still emphasized the breaking of peace with the Romans and the sacrileges committed during the siege of Jerusalem, but the central thesis of Ps.-Hegesippus is that the destruction is a result of killing and rejecting Jesus. This vengeance tradition, established by Eusebius/Rufinus and Ps.-Hegesippus in the West, had a long history in the Middle Ages.[21]

In addition to the theological interpretation of the punishment of the Jews, the destruction of the Jerusalem and the Temple, as recounted by Josephus, would be used to verify the statements of Jesus in the New Testament, particularly Mt 24:1–2, Mk 13, and Lk 21. Both Eusebius and Ps.-Hegesippus draw on these passages in the Gospels to place the narrative material from Josephus into a fuller Christian context.[22] In addition, both Eusebius and Ps.-Hegesippus give a full list of ignored portents of destruction listed by Josephus himself in Book Six of the *Bellum* as a supplement to the Gospels. In this way Josephus becomes not only a verification of New Testament events, but also of Christian prophecies. Eusebius explicitly linked the authority and value of Josephus in explicating these prophecies, by placing Josephus' biography just after these passages in the *HE*.

Josephus is first introduced in Eusebius' text as the most celebrated of Hebrew historians.[23] It was the reliability of Josephus as historiographer which made him useful to the Christian project of supporting the New Testament, initially against pagan critics, but also against the Jews. In this pattern of use, Josephus is simultaneously valued for his veracity and his otherness. The use of Josephus to fill out and verify the events and context related in the New Testament remains in use to this day in New Testament scholarship.[24]

3 Josephus as Chronographer

While the use of Josephus for New Testament matters has been, and continues to be, an important model of Christian use, for Late Antiquity and subsequently

20 Ps.-Hegesippus, *De excidio*, 5.2, 296–297: "habes quod petisti, eripuisti tibi praesulem pacis … Ideo salus abs te abscessit, pax abiit, quies destitit, data est tibi seditio, datum excidium."

21 Stephen K. Wright, *The Vengeance of our Lord: Medieval Dramatizations of the Destruction of Jerusalem* (Toronto: 1989). See also in this volume Bay and Edgington.

22 For example, see Eusebius/Rufinus, *Historia Ecclesiastica,* 3.3.

23 Eusebius/Rufinus, *Historia Ecclesiastica*, 1.5, 45: "inlustris Hebraeorum historiografus."

24 For a nuanced example see Steve Mason, *Josephus and the New Testament* (Peabody, MA: 1992); Helen Bond, "Josephus and the New Testament," in *Companion to Josephus*, 147–158.

the Middle Ages, Josephus was equally important for events in salvation history before the advent of Jesus. This pattern of use, whereby Josephus is used for his chronological expertise, has not received as much scholarly attention as the previous model. This lack of attention is due in part to this use of Josephus being present in the Christian genre, the universal chronicle.[25] The universal chronicle was a very popular genre in Late Antiquity and the Middle Ages but has not attracted the same level of attention in scholarship as the more narrative historical texts. It is once again Eusebius who established the usefulness of Josephus, but this time in Eusebius' universal chronicle, the *Chronicon canones,* which served as a blueprint for subsequent Christian world chronicles. This Eusebian text would be transmitted to the West by the translation and continuation of Jerome. As in his *Ecclesiastical History*, Eusebius made great use of Josephus in the *Chronicon* and even cited the author by name on a number of occasions.[26] In the *Chronicon*, however, only material from the *Antiquities* was recommended by Eusebius. Josephus was also often cited in conjunction with another source, such as Origen or Julius Africanus.[27] This use of Josephus established the Hebrew historian as an expert in what Christians would consider Old Testament chronology. Eusebius' extensive use of Josephus as a named source in his short history of the world elevated Josephus in the Christian tradition to more than a witness of the destruction of Jerusalem; Josephus' own narrative retelling of the whole history of the chosen people had now been fitted into the emerging Christian genre of world chronicles. This text established the second pattern of Josephus as a chronographer.

4 Josephus as Suspect Source

Jerome would have seen the usefulness of Josephus for biblical history before Jesus Christ during his translation of Eusebius' *Chronicon*. This benefit of Josephan material runs throughout Jerome's Old Testament commentaries. Jerome's use of Josephus in the biblical commentaries has been documented, although a more sustained treatment of Jerome's relationship with Josephus is a great desideratum.[28] Jerome's works could often be a source for Josephan

25 For example, Inowlocki, "Josephus and Patristic Literature," 359–360 notes the usefulness of Josephus to biblical details in the Old Testament, but her discussion focuses only on patristic commentaries, not on the chronicles.

26 Eusebius/Jerome, *Chronicon*, 4, 7, 55, 113, 175, 178, 181, 185, 187, 191.

27 Eusebius/Jerome, *Chronicon*, 113.

28 Schreckenberg, *Flavius-Josephus-Tradition*, 91–95.

material in other authors, such as when there is a citation of Josephus in one of the late antique anonymous prefaces to the Catholic Epistles.[29] The overall use of Josephus by Jerome, however, in his commentaries can be summarized as: use him when he is useful, change him when he is nearly useful, or ignore him altogether when appropriate.[30] Jerome's commentaries establish the third pattern, where Josephus' writings were an important source which should be used critically. That is, Josephus is a valuable source, but not always to be followed, especially when Josephus is at odds with the received biblical text.

In two other works, Jerome further established the literary reputation for Josephus. These texts are worth noting, for they were frequently read throughout the Middle Ages. *Epistola XXII* is a classic for the monastic life and *De viris illustribus* often provided the very backbone for a developing library and a common introduction to many authors for readers in the Middle Ages.[31] Josephus' inclusion in *De viris illustribus*, a literary survey of illustrious Christian writers, demonstrates one developing pattern for the Christian reception of Josephus. He was included by Jerome, in essence, as part of the Christian canon of important authors, although Josephus' critic, Justus of Tiberias, was also included immediately after Josephus, if only to state that Josephus considered Justus' writings to be false.[32] The Josephus entry in *De viris illustribus* is an efficient biography, discussing the works of the author, but appended to it is the *Testimonium*, although in this version of the *Testimonium* there is a difference in the text, whereby Jesus is not Christ, but thought to be the Christ.[33] The entry is more descriptive than prescriptive in how to use Josephus. Thus, the description of Josephus' writings, along with the challenge of Justus in the following entry, seems designed to invoke a certain amount of

29 *Praefationes in Bibliam Latinam*, in D. De Bruyne, ed. *Prefaces to the Latin Bible* (Turnhout: 2015), 257.

30 This relationship between Jerome and Josephus is well demonstrated in Robert Hayward, "St. Jerome and the meaning of the high priestly vestments," in *Hebrew Study from Ezra to Ben-Yehuda*, ed. William Horbury (Edinburgh: 1999), 90–105, esp. 104–105.

31 Rosamond McKitterick, *History and Memory in the Carolingian World* (Cambridge: 2004), 221–226.

32 For the influence of this text in medieval England, see Kletter in this volume.

33 For the interdependence of these texts see David Levenson and Thomas R. Martin, "The Latin Translations of Josephus on Jesus, John the Baptist, and James: Critical Texts of the Latin Translation of the *Antiquities* and Rufinus' Translation of Eusebius' *Ecclesiastical History* Based on Manuscripts and Early Printed Editions," *Journal for the Study of Judaism* 45 (2014): 1–79.

ambivalence regarding Josephus.[34] The literary quality of Josephus is affirmed in *Ep.* 22, where Jerome declares Josephus to be a Greek Livy.[35] Thus, there is a noticeable tension in the works generated by Jerome with regard to Josephus. Josephus' usefulness and style are recommended by Jerome, and yet there are moments of conflict which undermine that usefulness.

Ps.-Hegesippus furthered this pattern of Josephus as a useful, but suspect source. In *De excidio*, Josephus is praised for his love of the truth and for his ability as an historian, but it is precisely Josephus' Jewish belief, or rather his unbelief in Jesus, that necessitated a retelling of the history from Maccabees to the destruction of Jerusalem.[36] In a convoluted passage, Ps.-Hegesippus summarizes this tension:

> Josephus said this [about Jesus Christ], they themselves think him very great, and however by the same token he spoke what was true in such a way and was inconsistent in mind, so that he [Jesus] did not believe his own words. But he [Josephus] spoke on account of the belief of history because he thought to deceive was a great sin, he did not believe on account of hardness of heart and the intention of faithlessness. However, he did not prejudge truth because he did not believe, but he added more testimony, because, incredulous and reluctant, he did not refuse.[37]

Even the grammatical awkwardness of this passage points to the tension in Ps.-Hegesippus' own project, to retell and thereby trust a narrative of someone whom Ps.-Hegesippus automatically mistrusted on religious grounds. The tension in this pattern, Josephus as a believable unbeliever, would continue to influence Josephan reception throughout the Middle Ages. The name of the author of *De excidio* may have been drawn from the *De viris illustribus*, as an

34 Jerome/Gennadius, *De viris illustribus*, in A. Ceresa-Gastaldo, ed. *Gerolamo. Gli uomini illustri* (Florence: 1988), 100–105, or Ernest Cushing Richardson, ed. *Hieronymus liber De viris inlustribus; Gennadius liber De viris inlustribus* (Leipzig: 1896), 15–16.

35 Jerome, *Epistola XXII*.35, 200.

36 Ps.-Hegesippus, *De excidio*, Prologus, 3. For Ps.-Hegesippus' attitude towards his source see Bay in this volume.

37 Hegesippus, *De excidio*, 164: "hoc dixit Iosephus, quem ipsi maximum putant, et tamen ita in eo ipso quod uerum locutus est mente deuius fuit, ut nec sermonibus suis crederet. Sed locutus est propter historiae fidem, quia fallere nefas putabat, non credidit propter duritiam cordis et perfidiae intentionem. Non tamen ueritati praeiudicat, quia non credidit sed plus addidit testimonio, quia nec incredulus et inuitus negauit." Unless specified, all translations are my own.

entry for a Hegesippus in that text has a description of a five-book work which can be seen to align closely with the *De excidio*.[38]

5 Josephus as an Ignored Source

Eusebius/Rufinus, Jerome, and Ps.-Hegesippus are exceptional, however, in the early patristic period, as a general neglect of Josephus seems to be the more prevalent pattern. Augustine (d. 430) made no discernable use of Josephus in his *De civitate Dei*, where much of the material covered was early Hebrew history. Augustine's only sustained use of Josephus seems to be linked to the description of the fall of Jerusalem.[39] Ambrose (d. 397) too used Josephus very little in his own work. As Schreckenberg has postulated, this may be due to the increased linguistic barrier between the East and West.[40] Finally in Orosius (d. after 418), there are two references to Josephus. In both these cases, Orosius did not let information from Josephus stand alone, but juxtaposed Josephus with other sources such as Suetonius. In the first instance, Orosius made it clear that Suetonius was his preferred source over Josephus. Thus, for Orosius, Josephus' text required either corroboration or immediate correction by a more standard Roman authority.[41] These limited engagements with the Josephan corpus established the fourth pattern, if one can call it a pattern, of a lack of engagement, whether by accident or design. Josephus seemed to be a known text, nevertheless he was rarely deployed by Christian Latin writers other than the above-mentioned exceptions.

6 Josephus as Christian Historian

Cassiodorus' reception of Josephus established the last foundation for early medieval reception of the historian. As noted earlier, Cassiodorus was responsible for having the *Antiquities* translated, although the *Vita* was not translated

38 See Bay and Kletter in this volume. Jerome/Gennadius, *De viris illustribus*, in A. Ceresa-Gastaldo, ed. *Gerolamo. Gli uomini illustri* (Florence: 1988), 116, or Ernest Cushing Richardson, ed. *Hieronymus liber De viris inlustribus; Gennadius liber De viris inlustribus* (Leipzig: 1896), 20–21.

39 Schreckenberg, "Josephus in Early Christian Texts," 79, *Flavius-Josephus-Tradition*, 96.

40 Schreckenberg, "Josephus in Early Christian Texts," 79.

41 Orosius, *Historiarum adversum paganos Libri VII,* ed. C. Zangemeister, CSEL 5 (Vienna: 1882), VII.6, 451, VII.9, 458–459.

into Latin during this effort. Regarding long-term perceptions of authority, Cassiodorus combined many of the positive statements of Jerome and elevated Josephus almost to a writer of Christian history. This fashioning of Josephus' authority is further achieved by Cassiodorus' use of Josephus in a number of places in his influential commentary on the Psalms,[42] but more importantly by the way Josephus is presented in *Institutiones divinarum*. This text was meant to be a guide to becoming a learned Christian. It included Cassiodorus' advice on what and whom to read. The first book is concerned with divine learning and the second book turns its attention to secular learning. The authority of Josephus is signaled early in the text in conjunction with Origen and Jerome, in defense of the appropriateness of allegorical interpretations of Jewish priestly vestments.[43] The more important section for Josephus' reputation, however, comes towards the end of Book 1, in the section dedicated to Christian historians.[44] Here Josephus heads the list of historians to be read, historians especially who instruct readers in heavenly matters because they write from a perspective of divine providence.[45] This time, Josephus is called not a Greek Livy, but a second Livy, and this awarded title occurs just after a sentence in praise of Livy's style. Cassiodorus goes on to describe how he had the *Antiquities* translated, and also noted the existence of a Latin *Jewish War*, stating that the very ascription of the translation to Jerome, Ambrose, or Rufinus "declares the special merits of its composition."[46] Although this is disputed, it seems most likely that Cassiodorus is referring to the Latin translation of the *Jewish War* and not the *De excidio*, as the text is cited as being composed in seven books, as opposed to Ps.-Hegesippus' five. Cassiodorus' reading order for these Christian historians recommended Josephus first, and next Eusebius/Rufinus. By creating this reading list Cassiodorus went one step beyond Jerome's *De viris illustribus*; Josephus is not just enrolled in the Christian canon of authors but has now become a writer of ecclesiastical history. In this regard, Josephus has now become, if not a Christian historian, at least a narrator of Christian history.

42 Schreckenberg, *Flavius-Josephus-Tradition*, 105.

43 Cassiodorus, *Institutiones*, 1.5 in R.A.B. Mynors, ed. *Cassiodori Senatoris Institutiones* (Oxford: 1937), 23.

44 Cassiodorus, *Institutiones*, 1.17, 55.

45 Cassiodorus, *Institutiones*, 1.17, 55.

46 Cassiodorus, *Institutiones*, 55–56, trans. James W. Halporn, *Cassiodorus: Institutions of Divine and Secular Learning and On the Soul* (Liverpool: 2004), 149–150: "quae dumtalibus viris ascribitur, omnino dictionis eximia merita declarantur."

7 Conclusion about the Five Patterns of Late Antiquity

In terms of the received perception of Josephus' authority, it is important to restate that two of the most commonly read texts at the beginning of Christian learning, *De viris illustribus* and *Divine Institutes*, contain high praise for Josephus' works. The inclusion of Josephus in the section on ecclesiastical historians by Cassiodorus in particular establishes Josephus' works, especially *Antiquities*, as an important part of the larger Christian project of a narrative of salvation history. Thus, when Christians began to write history, they were never far from Josephus' work. In order to find the more adversarial relationship with Josephus, an emerging Christian scholar would need to look deeper into Jerome's commentaries or have access to Ps.-Hegesippus' *De excidio*. If one limited one's reading to the introductory texts on Christian learning, however, then Josephus was presented as an authority of great important and usefulness, with very little signs of cautionary approaches.[47]

8 Early Medieval Reception

8.1 *Isidore of Seville*

Isidore of Seville (d. 636) is our first important early medieval author in this study. Isidore was bishop of Seville and wrote extensively from his corner of Visigothic Spain. His works were foundational for medieval education in general.[48] His use of Josephus represents the more neglectful position of Augustine.[49] In what would seem to be his most influential work, the *Etymologies/Origines*, there is but one reference to Josephus, where Josephus and the Greeks are contrasted in a discussion about who first taught the Egyptians *astrologia*. Isidore makes no choice between Josephus and the Greeks.[50] Yet Isidore also made use of Josephus in his *Chronica*.[51] On a number of occasions in that text Josephus is cited by name to reinforce a

47 This perspective would also be conveyed to the beginner who made use of Cassiodorus' explanation while learning the Psalter. On the educational use of this book see Derek Olsen, *The Honey of Souls: Cassiodorus and the Interpretation of the Psalms in the Early Medieval West* (Collegeville, MN: 2017).

48 See Andrew Fear and Jamie Wood, eds. *A Companion to Isidore of Seville* (London: 2020), esp. part III.

49 Kletter, "Christian Reception," 373.

50 Isidore, *Etymologiae/Origines*, in W. M. Lindsay, ed. *Isidori hispalensis episcopi, Etymologiarum sive originum libri XX*, vol. I (Oxford: 1911), 3.25.

51 Isidore, *Chronica*, ed. J. Martin, CCSL 122 (Turnhout: 2003).

historical observation, especially with regard to events surrounding Noah and the Flood. One particular passage from Josephus in the *Chronica* which would have a longer reception, is the statement, recalled with imprecision, that some people wrote down knowledge on pillars to preserve that knowledge in response to prophesies of flood or fire.[52] Besides this cluster of use around Noah, Isidore's text does not further engage with Josephus; even the one parallel noted by the editor to Ps.-Hegesippus, is about Peter, Paul, and Nero and therefore not Josephan material.[53] Isidore's uses repeat two patterns established in Late Antiquity. On the one hand there is limited engagement with Josephus. However, Isidore did use Josephan material in the one genre in which a Christian author was strongly compelled at least to work with Josephus, if not cite Josephus' authority, that is in the universal chronicle.

8.2 *School at Canterbury*

One of the earliest extant manuscripts of the *De excidio* is Kassel, Gesamthochschulbibliothek 2° MS.theol. 65, which appears to have been at Canterbury sometime after the beginning of the Gregorian mission, before the text eventually found its way to Fulda.[54] Pre-Norman England seems to be an important context for material connected to the fall of Jerusalem, as demonstrated by the subsequent Old English traditions.[55] More importantly for our present study, in the golden age of Anglo-Latin, Josephan material was utilized by the compilers of the biblical commentaries linked to the school of Theodore and Hadrian, works composed sometime between ca. 650 and ca. 750.[56] As noted by the editors, the compilers seemed to have had a keen interest in Jewish customs and biblical natural history.[57] Josephus and his *Antiquities* are mentioned by name in the Pentateuch Commentary (PentI), although the information provided in that gloss does not seem to have come from Josephus.[58] Thus, Josephus seems to have been an authority of some sort.

52 Isidore, *Chronica*, 16–19, Josephus, *Antiquitates*, 1.2.

53 Isidore, *Chronica*, 118–121.

54 For the bibliography on the MS, see Helmut Gneuss and Michael Lapidge, *Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts: A Bibliographical Handlist of Manuscripts and Manuscript Fragments Written or Owned in England up to 1100* (Toronto: 2014), 600. For the MSS of Ps.-Hegesippus see Charles Mars, *Hegesippi qui dicitur historiae libri V*, vol. 2, CSEL 66 (Vienna 1960), viii–xxiii.

55 Thomas Hall, *Imagining the Jew in Anglo-Saxon Literature and Culture* (Toronto: 2016). A more recent list has been published in Carson Bay's *Biblical Heroes and Classical Culture in Christian Late Antiquity* (Cambridge: 2023), 25–30.

56 Bernhard Bischoff and Michael Lapidge, *Biblical Commentaries from the Canterbury School of Theodore and Hadrian* (Cambridge: 1994), 1.

57 Bischoff and Lapidge, *Canterbury School*, 246.

58 Bischoff and Lapidge, *Canterbury School*, 360, 216–217.

It is very rare for the text of PentI to cite an authority explicitly for a passage, which may indicate something of the importance of Josephus to the project, although once again the information seems to have been incorrect. The other details which, according to the editors, are taken from Josephus' *Antiquities*, are the nature of sacrifices,[59] the twelve loaves,[60] the *arula* (small altar/brazier),[61] and the Hebrew Calendar.[62] These detailed observations about biblical minutia are in keeping with the overall tenor of the commentary. The discrepancy over the metal of the *arula* and the non-Josephan reference attributed to Josephus, makes it highly likely that the compiler was working, at least in part, from memory rather than from a direct consultation of the text. Finally, the editors are confident that the compiler had access to the *Jewish War*, as the full details about the bitumen from the Dead Sea can only be found in Josephus and not Ps.-Hegesippus.[63] Although indirect, MS.theol. 65 combined with the PentI commentary from Canterbury, indicates that southern early medieval England had access, in one way or another, to the *Antiquities*, *Jewish War*, and *De excidio*. The use indicated by the PentI commentary is closest to the biblical support Jerome drew from Josephus when composing his own biblical commentaries, although in this instance there are no indications of a tension in consulting/using Josephus.

8.3 *Adomnán*

The next important author in the early medieval reception of Josephus is Adomnán (d. 704), in his text *De locis sanctis*.[64] Adomnán was abbot of Iona in present-day Scotland and is most famous for his life of St. Columba.[65] *De locis sanctis*, which did have a respectable medieval circulation, as represented by twenty-two extant manuscripts, is a description of the observations of a Gallic bishop named Arculf and his travels in the early medieval eastern Mediterranean.[66] The text is presented as a summary of Arculf's experience, but editors and scholars of the text have demonstrated how reliant the work

59 Bischoff and Lapidge, *Canterbury School*, 348, 473–474.
60 Bischoff and Lapidge, *Canterbury School*, 356, 478.
61 Bischoff and Lapidge, *Canterbury School*, 358, 478–479.
62 Bischoff and Lapidge, *Canterbury School*, 371, 390.
63 Bischoff and Lapidge, *Canterbury School*, 316–319, 217, 450.
64 Adomnán, *Adomnán's De locis sanctis*, ed. Denis Meehan, SLH III (Dublin: 1958).
65 Adomnán, *Vita Columbae* in Alan Orr Anderson and Majorie Orr Anderson, eds. *Adomnán's Life of Columba* (Oxford: 1991); Jonathan Wooding, Rodney Aist, Thomas O. Clancy, and Thomas O'Loughlin, eds. *Adomnán of Iona: Theologian, Lawmaker, Peacemaker* (Dublin: 2010).
66 Meehan, *De locis sanctis*, 30.

was on other textual sources as well. One text of which Adomnán made use was Ps.-Hegesippus' *De excidio*.[67] There is no mention of Josephus by name in Adomnán's text, and he calls the volume with Josephan material in it the "book of Jewish Captivity."[68] We cannot be certain if Adomnán knew the author to be Ps.-Hegesippus/Josephus, but clearly, he trusted the material. Adomnán was more concerned, however, to associate the text with Jerome, and his authority is cited throughout the work. Adomnán drew extensively on Jerome's works, and through those works would have been exposed to more Josephan material. The presence of Jerome's commentaries and the Ps.-Hegesippus, demonstrated by the *De locis sanctis*, gives us a number of indirect sources in the Iona circles for the reception of Josephan materials and demonstrates that those materials were reaching the very edges of the Latin Christian world. Adomnán can also be seen to be repeating the Late Antique pattern of using Josephan material for N.T. context. Although not possible here, a full study of Josephus in Hiberno-Latin exegesis would help us to place Iona into a fuller insular context and to conjecture whether Adomnán's *De excidio* came from Ireland or from early medieval England.[69]

8.4 *Bede*

The most important author for the reception of Josephus before the Carolingians was the Venerable Bede. Bede (d. 735), a monk, priest, and scholar from the double monastery at Wearmouth-Jarrow in Northumbria made sustained and extensive use of Josephus in his own work. Bede's production was prolific, and his chronicles and biblical commentaries would continue to be consulted throughout the Middle Ages. Throughout Bede's works, Josephus was held up as a reliable source for sacred history and Jewish matters.

Before we can discuss the various ways in which Bede used Josephus, we must comment on the texts available to him. In 1935, Max Laistner concluded that Bede had access to the Latin *Antiquities* and to the Ps.-Hegesippus, but he was not willing to discount the chance that Bede made his summaries of

67 The sources of the *De locis sanctis* have been extensively investigated. For more recent additions to the scholarship on Adomnán's sources see Thomas O'Loughlin, "The Library of Iona in the Late Seventh Century: The Evidence from Adomnán's '*De Locis Sanctis*'," *Ériu* 45 (1994): 33–52; O'Loughlin, *Adomnán and the Holy Places* (London: 2008); Michael Gorman, "Adomnán's *De locis sanctis*: The diagrams and the sources," *Revue Bénédictine* 116 (2006): 5–41.

68 Adomnán, *De locis sanctis*, LS II.20: "liber iudaicae captivitatis."

69 As the terminus of the period under review is 735, I have not engaged fully with the Hiberno-Latin exegesis as the dates for many of those works remain highly contested, dating arguments often ranging from the 7th century all the way to the 10th for the same text.

information from the *Antiquities* based on a Greek text, for there were no strong verbal parallels to the Latin edition.[70] The two most recent explorations of Bede's library have concluded that he had access only to the Latin *Antiquities* and the Ps.-Hegesippus.[71] Lapidge also provided a useful collection of many of the places where Bede used Josephus.[72] While the list is not exhaustive, it does an excellent job of highlighting the main texts where Bede was employing the Jewish historian. As all three authors, Laistner, Lapidge, and Love, have noted, the quest to identify the contents of Bede's library is fraught with difficulty. The reason for this difficulty is that Bede was willing to draw citations from other authors, but cited, if he did cite, the primary author and not the intermediate source. Thus, many of Bede's cited uses of Josephus in his texts were drawn from Eusebius/Rufinus and from Jerome's commentaries.

Josephus can be found as a source for Bede's earliest works. In *De temporibus*, completed in 705, Josephus was cited by name for the description of the *Annus magnus* as 600 years, which definition Bede drew from *Antiquities* 1.3.9.[73] Later in the work Bede cited the combined length of the regnal years of Samuel and Saul to be 32, which number is only found in Josephus' *Antiquities*.[74] In citing the 32 combined years for the reigns of Samuel and Saul, Bede went against not only his two primary sources, Isidore and Eusebius/Jerome, but also against Paul's statement in Acts 13:21. Yet in the very next chapter, in the same text, the critical edition has chosen to read the regnal years as 40, which follows Isidore, Eusebius/Jerome, and Acts, but contradicts the previous section in Bede's text.

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70 Max Ludwig Wolfram Laistner, "The Library of the Venerable Bede," in *Bede His Life, Times, and Writings*, ed. A.H. Thompson (Oxford: 1935), 246–7, 265. See also "Bede as a Classical and a Patristic Scholar," *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society* 16 (1933): 69–93. For a general discussion of Greek knowledge in the medieval West as well as comments about Bede's use of the bilingual text of the *Acts of the Apostles* see W. Berschin, *Greek Letters and the Latin Middle Ages: From Jerome to Nicholas of Cusa*, trans. J. Frakes (Washington, D.C.: 1988). For more background concerning Greek knowledge in the West see also M. Herren, *The Sacred Nectar of the Greeks: The Study of Greek in the West in the Early Middle Ages* (London: 1988). For a discussion of Bede's knowledge of Greek see A. Dionisotti, "On Bede, Grammars, and Greek," *Revue Bénédictine* 92 (1982): 111–41; K. Lynch, "The Venerable Bede's Knowledge of Greek," *Traditio* 39 (1983): 432–39. The general consensus among these scholars is that Bede, as seen in his *Retractions*, displayed an excellent knowledge of Greek towards the end of his life.

71 R. Love, "The Library of the Venerable Bede," in *The Cambridge History of the Book in Britain: Volume 1 c. 400–1100*, ed. R. Gameson (Cambridge: 2012), 627; M. Lapidge, *The Anglo-Saxon Library* (Oxford: 2006), 218.

72 Lapidge, *Anglo-Saxon Library*, 218.

73 Bede, *De temporibus* IX, in C.W. Jones, ed. *Opera Didascalica*, CCSL 123C (Turnhout: 1980), 592.

74 Bede, *De temporibus*, 604–605.

Wallis and Kendall rightly noticed the problem and emended the text to read 32 in each section.[75] This issue of 32 or 40 years for Samuel and Saul, would continue to draw attention from Bede. The question of the length of these two reigns was a problem for other chronographers as well, since Sulpicius Severus also complains about dealing with the issue.[76]

When Bede returned to the question of the length of Samuel and Saul's reigns, twenty years later, he still felt compelled to state that he drew his information in support of the 32 years from the *Antiquities* of Josephus, because it is not contained in the canonical Scripture.[77] Even towards the very end of his literary career this question over the length of reigns was still pressing on his mind and in his *Retractatio in Actus Apostolorum*, Bede actually tells the tale of how he became confused about the length of reigns when writing the Acts commentary.[78] In Acts 13 Paul delivers a speech where he recalls the history of Israel, in which he states that King Saul reigned for 40 years. In Bede's first Acts commentary he reported that the reigns of Samuel and Saul together were 40 years and then he double checked the number forty with 1 Chronicles 29, which led him to conclude: "Of these, as Josephus is the witness, twenty years passed under Samuel's governance, and as many more under Saul's."[79] Returning to this passage towards the end of his life in the *Retractatio*, Bede remained firm that the apostle was speaking according to popular opinion about the length of the reign, but Bede had learned since then that the reigns of Samuel and Saul were only 32 years in total. He explained:

> It is true what I said there [Commentary on Acts] that Eusebius, following Josephus, gave 40 years to the leadership of Samuel and Saul, an equal number divided between them. Later, examining more diligently the histories of Josephus at another time, I saw that he himself did not write

75 F. Wallis and C. Kendall, *Bede: On the Nature of Things and On Times* (Liverpool: 2010), 122.

76 Sulpicius Severus, *Libri chronicorum*, 35.2 in G. Senneville-Grave, ed. *Sulpice Severe Chroniques*, SC 441 (Paris: 1999), 178–180.

77 Bede, *De temporum ratione*, Ch. 66, AM 2890, in C.W. Jones, ed. *Opera Didascalica*, CCSL 123B (Turnhout: 1977) 475, trans. F. Wallis, *Bede: The Reckoning of Time* (Liverpool: 1999) 171: "Samuhel an. XII, ut docet Iosephus, in scriptura enim sancta quamdiu praefuerit minime patet."

78 Bede, *Retractatio in Actus Apostolorum*, in M.L.W. Laistner, ed. *Opera Exegetica*, CCSL 121 (Turnhout: 1983) 146–147.

79 Beda, *Expositio Actuum Apostolorum*, 13:21, in M.L.W. Laistner, ed. *Opera Exegetica*, CCSL 121 (Turnhout: 1983) 62, trans. Lawrence T. Martin, *The Venerable Bede: Commentary on the Acts of the Apostles*, Cistercian Studies Series 117 (Kalamazoo: 1989), 119: "ut Josephus testis est, Samuhel uiginti et Saul alios totidem regimine transegerunt."

> 40 years for the aforementioned period, but he assigned only 12 years to Samuel, while [he assigned] 20 years for Saul.[80]

Bede then went on to discuss a number of other related chronology issues that came from relying on Eusebius' chronology; he concluded by stating that Eusebius did not accord with the Vulgate.

There are three important conclusions to be drawn from this story about Bede, Samuel, Saul, and the forty years. The first point is that Bede was drawn to the authority of Josephus right at the beginning of his literary career. The second point is that Bede seems to have conflated the Eusebius/Jerome chronicle and Josephus in his mind when he quickly put together his Acts commentary, since he cited the authority of Josephus for the forty years, but it was an Eusebian decision. This speaks to Bede's understanding of how reliant Eusebius was on Josephus. Finally, the story attests to Bede's deeper and more independent engagement with Josephus' *Antiquities* as his literary career progressed. The chronology of Josephus became for Bede more reliable than Eusebius.

Early on in Bede's writing career, the ideas behind his early chronicle contained in *De temporibus* were challenged by an unknown person at the court of Bishop Wilfrid and Bede was accused of heresy.[81] This charge had to do with the difference between the years recorded in the Septuagint represented by the *Vetus* translation and the years recorded in the Hebrew scriptures, represented by Jerome's Vulgate. The details of the controversy are not necessary here, but what is important is that when Bede wrote a robust defense of his use of the Vulgate chronology in 708, Josephus was listed as one the major authorities in defense of the Vulgate's dates.[82] Bede cited Origen, Josephus, Jerome, and Augustine in support of the revised chronology. The quotation from Josephus, which Bede misattributes to the *Antiquities*, was actually an extract from the *Against Apion*, which Bede had found in Rufinus.[83] This use of Josephus early

80 Bede, *Retractatio*, 13:21, 146: "Verum quod ibi dixi quia Eusebius Iosephum secutus principatui Samuhelis et Saulis quadraginta annos dederit aequali inter eos numero dispertitos, postmodum historias Iosephi diligentius ex tempore perspiciens vidi quod non ipse quadraginta annos praefatae aetatis scripserit, sed duodecim tantum Samuheli, viginti autem annos adsignaverit Sauli."

81 F. Wallis, "Why did Bede write a commentary on Revelation?" in *Bede and the Future*, eds. P. Darby and F. Wallis (Farnham: 2014), 28–32; P. Darby, *Bede and the End of Times* (Farnham: 2012), 42–51.

82 Bede, *Epistola ad Pleguinam*, in C.W. Jones, ed. *Opera Didascalica*, CCSL 123C (Turnhout: 1980), 620–621.

83 There is a possibility that Bede's *Antiquities* was the 22-book version which included *Against Apion*, but I have not identified any non-dependent, secondhand use of this work.

on in Bede's career fits the pattern established in the discussion of the reigns of Samuel and Saul. Bede liked to cite Josephus as an authority, particularly when it strengthened the Vulgate. There is no sense of apprehension in using Josephus as an authority, even in this very delicate situation of an accusation of heresy. Finally, Bede early in his career had frequently cited Josephus by name, although sourced secondhand from Eusebius/Rufinus, which is the very practice that would lead him to make his revisions of the Acts commentary.

Josephus proved to be an important data mine for Bede. Josephus, via Eusebius/Rufinus, can be found throughout the Acts commentary. The Jewish historian especially seems to have been one of Bede's preferred authorities for the regnal years of the Jewish Tetrarchy, as well as for information concerning 1st-century political factions in Roman Palestine.[84] Bede also made use of Josephus in his Gospel commentaries. Josephus was particularly valuable to Bede as an eyewitness of the fulfillment of Jesus' prophecy concerning the destruction of Jerusalem, in Luke 23.[85] These New Testament uses were fairly standard in the Christian commentary tradition by Bede's time. What truly sets Bede apart from his predecessors, in terms of Josephus, can be most clearly seen in Bede's more extensive work on the Old Testament.

It is not the use of Josephus for the Old Testament that makes Bede different from Jerome, it is the amplitude of that use. This is well demonstrated by his increased use of Josephus in the second world chronicle included in his work *De Temporum Ratione*. In that work Bede greatly increased the material drawn from Josephus compared to both his first chronicle and his principal source, the Eusebius/Jerome *Chronicon*. Paralleling this increase in the chronicles, in the commentaries Bede frequently deployed more Josephan material. The principal way in which Bede used Josephus for Old Testament matters was for geo-political information. Thus he turned to Josephus to explain the extent of the land of Havilah in Genesis 2:11.[86] However, in this case, Bede seems to have blurred the line between Jerome's *Hebrew Questions* and Josephus' *Antiquities* (which makes one wonder if Bede associated Old Testament content with Josephus); when recalling the issue his memory brought forward Jerome instead, whose text provided the closest verbal parallel.[87] While Bede often turned to Josephus for geographical information, he was especially respectful

84 Bede, *Actuum*, 5.36 and 5.37, 31–32.

85 Bede, *In Lucam evangelium expositio*, in D. Hurst, ed. *Opera Exegetica*, CCSL 120 (Turnhout: 1960) 400 and 365.

86 Bede, *In Genesis*, 2:11b in C. W. Jones, ed. *Opera Exegetica*, CCSL 120 (Turnhout: 1968) 115.

87 Jerome, *Hebraicae Quaestiones in Libro Geneseos*, in P. de Lagarde, ed. *S. Hieronymus presbyteri Opera*, CCSL 72 (Turnhout: 1959).

of Josephus' reporting of regnal and sacerdotal reigns, so much so that in *In Samuel* Bede declared that after scripture no one was a better source for this type of information than Josephus.[88] As already mentioned, this high esteem of Josephus' authority on regnal dating has to do with the question of the Hebrew Scriptures.[89] Also, already in *In Genesis*, we can see Bede trusting Josephus for the dimensions of cubits referred to in the biblical text.[90]

Far and away the greatest use that Bede made of Josephus as an exegetical source was on the Tabernacle and the Temple. From Josephus, Bede derived many comments about building materials, dimensions, decorations, and more for both of these Old Testament structures. For example, in *De Templo*, Bede combined observations from Chronicles and Josephus to conclude that the Temple was constructed of Parian marble to the height of 120 cubits.[91] In *De Tabernaculo*, Bede used Josephus to gain further details about the loaves of bread set before the Tabernacle and that each of the tablets of the law contained five words which paralleled the division of the curtains before the Tabernacle.[92]

Unlike many other exegetes, Bede frequently let his readers know that he was using Josephus. Thus, Bede's use of Josephus is strikingly transparent, upfront, and unapologetic. Indeed, it seems that the very Jewishness of Josephus made him valuable in Bede's eyes. Concerning measurements of the Temple and Tabernacle, Bede declared: "we must not suppose that a Jewish man of priestly descent, most excellent in ability and most learned in literature both secular and divine could be mistaken in any way about such a matter."[93] Throughout this commentary Bede freely drew details from Josephus to fill out his description of the Tabernacle. There was no effort on Bede's part to baptize Josephus; Bede took the historian for his word on Jewish matters, especially Jewish customs and physical descriptions. As a Jew, Josephus was useful for Jewish things; one might wish to compare Bede's use of Gildas, where it was Gildas' Britishness that made him useful.

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88 Bede, *In primam partem Samuhelis Libri IIII*, in D. Hurst, ed. *Opera Exegetica*, CCSL 120 (Turnhout: 1962), 69.

89 Bede, *Retractatio*, 13,21, 146–147.

90 Bede, *In Genesis*, 6:21, 112.

91 Bede, *De Templo*, in D. Hurst, ed. *Opera Exegetica*, CCSL 119A (Turnhout: 1969) 156.

92 Bede, *De Tabernaculo*, 1.7, 2.2, in D. Hurst, ed. *Opera Exegetica*, CCSL 119A (Turnhout: 1969) 28–29, 47.

93 Bede, *De Tabernaculo*, 13, trans. A. Holder, *Bede: On the Tabernacle* (Liverpool: 1994) 11: "Quae, si Iosephi uerba uiderimus, facile quaestio soluitur. Neque enim putandum est hominem Iudaeum genere sacerdotalem ingenio excellentissimum et in scripturis diuinis simul et saecularibus doctissimum ullatenus hoc potuisse latere."

In such high regard did Bede hold Josephus, that he not only turned to Josephus as a data mine or for help with exegetical difficulties, but he also saw Josephus as an authority who needed to be reconciled with Scripture and other authorities, especially in his Temple and *Ezra* commentaries. For example, from Josephus Bede learned that the high priest Jaddua was alive in the time of Alexander the Great, but the text written by Nehemiah also describes the descent of Jaddua. This creates a mathematical difficulty if the text was written in 5th century B.C. Bede presents two different solutions which allow both Josephus to be correct and for the Book of Nehemiah to have been written by the historical Nehemiah. Another example is when Bede thought Josephus' replacement of the Ahava River with the Euphrates meant instead that the Ahava River must be a tributary of the Euphrates.[94] Thus, unlike Jerome, Bede went to great lengths on a number of occasions to respect the opinion of Josephus. That is not to say he was merely slavish, for he rejected the opinion of not only Josephus, but of Jerome and Augustine as well concerning who married the daughters of Haran in Genesis 11.[95]

The final type of use of Josephus highlights well Bede's overall goals. In a number of places in his commentaries, especially when dealing with the ornamentation of the Tabernacle, Temple, and high priests' vestments, Bede drew from Josephus details concerning these structures and items from the Jewish past. In a number of places, Bede went on to build an allegorical reading on these additional details from Josephus, which was noticed some time ago by Holder.[96] In *De Templo,* Bede learned from Josephus that the light of the rising sun of the equinox passed through the portico to shine on the ark. Bede would then use this detail to create an extended allegory about salvation history.[97] As another example, in *De Tabernaculo*, Bede provided an allegorical reading of additional information taken from Josephus, or from Josephus via Jerome, about the priestly vestments. The detail of the number of bells and pomegranates on the priestly vestments, Bede claimed were recorded in Josephus, although he actually derived them from Jerome; he used these details to

94 Bede, *In Ezra*, in D. Hurst, ed. *In Ezram et Neemiam*, CCSL 119A (Turnhout: 1969), 207, 127.

95 Bede, *In Genesis*, 166.

96 Holder, *Bede: On the Tabernacle*, 128, n. 3; Arthur Holder, "Allegory and History in Bede's Interpretation of Sacred Architecture," *American Benedictine Review* 40 (1989): 129–31. See also G.H. Brown, "Patristic Pomegranates, from Ambrose and Apponius to Bede," in *Latin Learning and English Lore: Studies in Anglo-Saxon Literature for Michael Lapidge*, eds. K. O'Brien O'Keeffe and A. Orchard, Vol. 1 (Toronto: 2005), 138–143.

97 Bede, *De Templo*, 161–162.

provide an allegorical explanation about lesser clerics or Jesus' time in the tomb.[98] Each of the decorative features of the turban described by Josephus, but not in Scripture, were also given allegorical interpretations.[99] Bede, excited by his discovery of these additional details in Josephus, was able to enhance the scope of his commentary to include both historical discussion and allegorical reading of these extra-biblical details. For Holder these allegories built on non-biblical data were momentary slips in Bede's typical resistance to writing allegory about anything except Scripture.[100] While Holder is correct that Bede did not perform allegorical readings of this present age, the sixth age of the world, Bede's practices here should be understood as something more than a momentary slip. For Bede these details were from sacred history, and they concerned structures and ornaments mentioned in the biblical text but since destroyed. The very destruction of the Temple and the Tabernacle made these biblical structures all the more important for Bede; the lengthy biblical descriptions remained beneficial to the Christian and open to allegorical exegesis precisely because the structures no longer existed.[101] These objects could be allegorized precisely because they were from the sacred past, from salvation history before the Incarnation, the time that for Bede was one of prefigurement. For Bede, his allegories were not built on the text, but on the historical reality that was the object of the textual description. In other words, Bede was writing an allegory on the Temple and Tabernacle, not on the descriptions recorded in Scripture.[102] This is why Josephus was useful to Bede: The Jewish historian gave him more access to the matter of sacred history, beyond the sacred text.

We have seen that Josephus was many things for Bede. He was a data mine for information concerning both the Old and New Testaments, especially regnal and sacerdotal reigns, and physical minutiae. These details allowed Bede to expand his allegorical treatment of objects not described fully by the biblical text. Josephus' Jewishness and his harmony with the Vulgate were important factors that facilitated Bede's extensive use of his works. Of such great authority was Josephus to Bede, that the Jewish historian needed to be reconciled with the sacred text to defend the authority of both texts and, in most cases, Bede

98 Bede, *De Tabernaculo*, 111–112; Holder, *Bede: On the Tabernacle*, 128, n. 3; Jerome, *Epistola 64,* 14,2, CSEL 54, 600.

99 Bede, *De Tabernaculo*, 117–118.

100 Holder, *Bede: On the Tabernacle*, 128, n. 3; A. Holder, "Allegory and History in Bede's Interpretation of Sacred Architecture," *American Benedictine Review* 40 (1989): 129–31.

101 Bede, *In Genesis*, 180–1.

102 For an extended unpacking of Bede's understanding of the Temple and corroborating opinion that Bede was commenting on historical realities, see Conor O'Brien, *Bede's Temple: An Image and its Interpretation* (Oxford: 2015), esp. 47–72.

was upfront in letting his reader know when he was dependent on Josephus. Even Bede's misattributions to Josephus demonstrate a desire on his part to get back to the Josephan material while using other sources. While the authority of Josephus was invoked early in Bede's career, his use of Josephus matured over the course of Bede's literary career, which is an important reminder that an author's strategy of use can change over time.

What Bede did for Josephus, in the context of Christian Latin Biblical Exegesis and universal world history, was to establish further Josephus' authority concerning both the Old and New Testaments. He achieved this not by Christianizing Josephus, as Cassiodorus had done, but by viewing Josephus as an authoritative witness from the Jewish perspective. By doing so Bede laid the foundation for the subsequent medieval reception of Josephus; wherever Bede's authority would be respected, the reader would be presented with a positive appreciation of Josephus. In the words of one Carolingian author, Amalarius of Metz: "for me his authority is sufficient."[103] In terms of the patterns available from Late Antiquity, Bede is closest to Jerome, albeit much more open and less hostile about the use of Josephus.

9 Overall Conclusion

The authors of the 4th and 5th centuries established four important patterns for the Western use of Flavius Josephus. Eusebius of Caesarea, through Rufinus' Latin translation, held up Josephus as an accidental witness to the events of the New Testament. Eusebius, through Jerome's translation, also established Josephus as an important resource for chronology in the genre of world chronicles. Jerome established the pattern of highly critical and selective use for biblical exegesis. Augustine demonstrates the negligent position of many of the Latin fathers. To these four styles of use, Cassiodorus in the 6th century added the final pattern of use to emerge from Late Antiquity, the nearly Christianized Flavius Josephus, a writer of ecclesiastical history.

This late antique heritage would continue to be available to scholars throughout the Middle Ages. Isidore of Seville is reflective of both the negligence pattern of Augustine and also of the world chronographer of Eusebius/Jerome. Adomnán, whether knowing the author or not, reflects the corroborator strategy of Eusebius/Rufinus. With the Venerable Bede, one can see a new

103 As cited in Joyce Hill, "Carolingian perspectives on the Authority of Bede" in *Innovation and Tradition in the Writings of the Venerable Bede*, ed. S. DeGregorio (Morgantown: 2006), 227; Amalarius, *De ecclesiasticis officiis*, IV.1, PL 105, col. 1164C: "mihi sufficit ejus auctoritas."

pattern of reception developing, which made use of elements from the patristic inheritance. From the chronographer pattern, Bede amplified the use of Josephus, but also demonstrated the connection between Josephus' chronology and the Vulgate. As the Vulgate grew in popularity, so too would the usefulness of Josephus' *Antiquities*. Bede and his community at Wearmouth-Jarrow were only the beginning of the wider reception of Jerome's translation. From Jerome's pattern of critical exegetical use, Bede also amplified the use of Josephus, and was much more willing to trust the Hebrew historian, even to the point of seeking to reconcile Josephus with Scripture. This also made Bede an important source for indirect use of Josephus in the following centuries. Finally, with regard to Cassiodorus' pattern, Bede saw the benefit of Josephus as an historian, but primarily as a Jewish historian of the time before Jesus, not as a nearly Christian author. For Bede, Josephus was an expert on Jewish things.

These six patterns (corroborator, chronographer, suspect source, ignored source, Christianized historian, reliable Jewish historian) present a wide array of strategies for the use of Josephus. Due to the influence of the authors discussed above, these patterns were available not just to the learned Carolingians, but to all scholars of the Christian Latin intellectual tradition. For scholars with access to larger libraries, the late antique and earliest medieval reception established Josephus as an essential source for universal history and biblical exegesis.

CHAPTER 2

"A Rose among Thorns"? Reading Pseudo-Hegesippus (*De excidio Hierosolymitano*) amid the Latin Josephus Tradition

Carson Bay

> Hence it was our concern, not relying upon wealth of genius but on the application of faith, briefly to proceed a bit further into the history of the Jews beyond the sequence of sacred scripture, so that – as though seeking a rose among thorns – among the savage deeds of the impious, who were dealt with by a price worthy of their impiety, we may unearth something either of reverence for the sacred law or of wonder at the holy plan.

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Thus begins Part 2 of the Prologue of *On the Destruction of Jerusalem* (*De excidio Hierosolymitano*), or 'Pseudo-Hegesippus,' according to the numbering in Ussani's critical edition.[1] The Christian author of this Josephus-based history

1 *De excidio*, prol. 2, 3. All Latin text of *De excidio* is taken from Ussani. All translations into English are mine. "Vnde nobis curae fuit non ingenii ope fretis sed fidei intentione in historia Iudaeorum ultra scripturae seriem sacrae paulisper introrsum pergere, ut, tamquam in spinis rosam quaerentes, inter saeua impiorum facinora, quae digno impietatis pretio soluta sunt, eruamus aliqua uel de reuerentia sacrae legis uel de sanctae constitutionis miraculo." I refer to the author as "Ps-Hegesippus" and not simply "Hegesippus," as the *Thesaurus Latinae Linguae* still insists on doing and as some scholars do as well (several in this volume), both to distinguish the 'real' Hegesippus, whose five-book *Hypomnēmata* are still partially available to us through their preservation in the work of Eusebius of Caesarea, and to signal that that moniker is a pseudonym. I do not follow the lead of medieval scribes in calling the author or translator of the work "Hegesippus" because, as we shall see, medieval writers referred to *De excidio* as the work of several authorities in a number of oblique ways, as this essay seeks to show. On the other hand, I resist the moniker "Pseudo-Rufinus" for the Latin *War* even though it has early medieval manuscript support – see discussion below – mostly because the Latin *War* is so obviously a translation and can hardly be considered anything else, whereas *De excidio* can hardly be considered a translation in any meaningful sense of

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saw his scribal task as one not of *ingenium* but rather of *fides*, and he marked his historiographical territory as the period just beyond that covered by *sacra scriptura*; in other words, *De excidio* covers the later Second Temple Period of Jewish history (167 B.C. to 73 A.D., to be precise).[2] Within this scope, the author seeks to derive from historical events some insight into God's plan in history. He wants to understand and explain how the *impii* – i.e., the Jews – received recompense for their crimes and how this fits with the covenant cut out for them within their own Jewish Scriptures, the *lex sacra*, the Christian Old Testament. What the author will 'find' is that the Jews fulfilled prophecy by rejecting and crucifying their would-be savior, Jesus Christ, and suffered God-ordained vengeance as a consequence. This perspective frames Josephus' story of the Roman-Jewish War (66–73 A.D.) as an extended illustration of divine punishment, theodicy in action.

The author of *De excidio* describes his journey *in historia Iudaeorum* by means of a metaphor: he proceeds "as though seeking a rose among thorns" ("*tamquam in spinis rosam quaerentes*"). Dominique Estève has pointed out how Christian authors of Late Antiquity often used this metaphor as a way to describe the process of extracting valuable content from otherwise unacceptable pagan texts,[3] and Ps-Hegesippus' use thereof was later recycled, it seems, in the 13th-century poem *De Excidio Urbis Iorosolimorum*.[4] In this quest, Ps-Hegesippus makes explicit in a full-work rewriting what other Christian readers gleaned by inference, interpretation, and commentary from Josephus' *Jewish War*: there is Christian truth (the rose) to be found amidst the thorny details of

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that word. On the attributions of the author of *De excidio* in England in the long twelfth century, see Kletter's essay in this volume.

2 For an overview of *De excidio*'s narrative contents, see Carson Bay, "The Bible, the Classics, and the Jews in Pseudo-Hegesippus: A Literary Analysis of the Fourth-Century *De Excidio Hierosolymitano* 5.2" (PhD Dissertation, Florida State University, Tallahassee, FL, 2018), 5–11.

3 Dominique Estève, "L'Oeuvre historique du Pseudo-Hégésippe: "De Bello iudaico," livre I à IV" (ELP 10; PhD Dissertation, Université Paris Nanterre, Paris, France, 1987), XXIII–XXIV: "Les auteurs chrétiens se doivent d'extirper dans les textes païens, buissons d'epines, la rose, figure symbolique des aspects positifs de la culture païenne qui leur permettra de mieux asseoir leur propre doctrine." See Basil of Caesarea, *Ep.* 28; Amphilocius of Iconium, *Iambics to Seleucus* 60–61; Gregory Nazianzen, *Or.* 49.32.

4 Speaking to the Jews, in line 404 the poem states: "Since you pressed with thorns him who was a pure rose" ("Dum premis hunc spinis qui rosa pura fuit"). I think this reflects the line from *De excidio* prol. 2 discussed above. See further Carson Bay, "Writing the Jews out of History: Pseudo-Hegesippus, Classical Historiography, & the Codification of Christian Anti-Judaism in Late Antiquity," *Church History* 90 (2021): 265–285, at 282 n. 93, and Greti Dinkova-Bruun, "Latin Versifications of Josephus's Latin Bellum," *Medievalia et Humanistica* 46 (2021): 37–54.

1st-century Jewish history.[5] In this essay, I would like to borrow Ps-Hegesippus' metaphor to describe a different quest for knowledge. Namely, I seek to locate *De excidio* as a text within the larger Latin Josephus tradition as inherited by later readers (surely Ps-Hegesippus would have considered his work the *rosa* in this context). My broad-spectrum research question is this: where and how did *De excidio* fit within the broader Latin Josephus tradition for pre-modern copyists and readers? My narrower question is: to what extent – and in what way(s) – was Ps-Hegesippus conflated with Josephus by the pre-modern heirs to Josephus' Latinate legacy? To answer these questions, I will rely in some part on the reception history of *De excidio*, but mostly on the manuscripts of *De excidio* themselves.

When scholars refer to the "Latin Josephus" or "Josephus Latinus," the specific referent is not always clear.[6] At its broadest, this moniker encompasses at least three or four different works: 1) the Latin translation of Josephus' *Jewish War* (*Bellum Judaicum*), probably made in the later 4th century; 2) the Latin translation of Josephus' *Jewish Antiquities* (*Antiquitates*), 2a) perhaps alongside the *Against Apion* (*Contra Apionem*), completed in the mid-6th century at the Vivarium monastery of Cassiodorus;[7] and 3) *On the Destruction of Jerusalem* (*De excidio Hierosolymitano*), the Latin adaptation (or transformation) of Josephus' *Jewish War* into a five-book Christian work probably around 370–375, discussed

5 Most fully see Book Three of Eusebius of Caesarea's *Historia Ecclesiastica*.

6 Thus, for example, Scott G. Bruce, "The Redemption of Flavius Josephus in the Medieval Latin Tradition," in *Litterarum dulces fructus: Studies in Early Medieval Latin Culture in Honour of Michael W. Herren for his 80th Birthday*, ed. Scott G. Bruce, *Instrumenta Patristica et Mediaevalia* 85 (Turnhout: 2021), 53–69 lists the Latin *Antiquities*, the Latin *War*, and the Latin *Against Apion* as "the corpus known as 'the Latin Josephus' " (56), whereas the more common convention in recent scholarship seems to be to include *De excidio* alongside the true Josephan translations as part of this tradition: see, e.g., Richard Matthew Pollard, "Flavius Josephus: The Most Influential Classical Historian of the Early Middle Ages," in *Writing the Early Medieval West: Studies in Honour of Rosamond McKitterick*, eds. Elina Screen and Charles West (Cambridge: 2018), 15–32 and, more recently, Jean-Félix Aubé-Pronce and Richard Matthew Pollard, "Annotating Flavius Josephus in the Early Middle Ages: Early Impressions from Thousands of Notes," *Medievalia et Humanistica* 46 (2021): 167–200, at 173 (e.g.). It should be noted here that Pollard stands as an authoritative contemporary representative of scholarship on the Latin Josephus tradition, whereas Bruce's research focus generally lies elsewhere.

7 Cassiodorus, *Inst.* 1.17.1. The Latin *Against Apion* is, in fact, the only extant version of a portion of that work (2.52–113), where the Greek archetype is missing. The Latin *Against Apion*, however, has been lambasted as "hardly … a translation," and worse: see Giuseppe Giangrande, "Emendations to Josephus Flavius' *Contra Apionem*," *Classical Quarterly* 12 (1962): 108–117, 108 (with notes). For a fuller discussion of Cassiodorus and Josephus see Hilliard, in this volume.

above.[8] All three Latin texts were known and circulating in the Carolingian world.[9] The latter work was not something written by Josephus, as is obvious from its opening sentences to its final lines. Yet, as Richard Pollard and Justin Lake point out in this volume, and as has been pointed out before, copyists and readers apparently routinely attributed the work to Josephus until the mid-9th century, and many did so thereafter as well. How could this be? And what does this mean? Whatever the reasons, modern scholars tend to follow suit and to deal with *De excidio* as part of a larger Latin Josephus reception history. Here I will suggest that the pre-modern conflation of Ps-Hegesippus and Josephus may lend itself to a greater flexibility of interpretation than scholarship has appreciated heretofore. Scholars have already agreed that, to lesser or greater degrees of specificity, *De excidio* has long been appreciated as its own work. Here I will push that argument further, problematizing the claim that early readers 'thought Josephus wrote *De excidio*.' I will also posit that contemporary scholars may benefit from the conceptual, if temporary, methodological unmooring of Ps-Hegesippus from 'Latin Josephus' writ large.

1 The Christian Content of *De excidio*

The first thing to be sketched out is the problem of identifying *De excidio* as a work with Josephus as an author. The application of even a modicum of knowledge about the historical Josephus should be enough to tell any reader of *De excidio* that Josephus did not write that work. It is not only that Josephus wrote in Greek, not Latin.

The most obvious disconfirmation of Josephus as *De excidio*'s author comes in that work's Prologue, which begins like this:

8 For a comparative discussion of the three works, see e.g., Carson Bay, "On the Multivocality of the Latin Josephus Tradition: A Comparison Between the Latin *War*, Latin *Antiquities*, Pseudo-Hegesippus, and Rufinus Based on the Egyptian Pseudo-Prophet Episode (*War* 2.261–263, *Antiquities* 20.169–172a)," *Medievalia et Humanistica* 46 (2021): 1–36. The authoritative work on the textual tradition of the Latin *Antiquities* is currently underway; see David B. Levenson and Thomas R. Martin, "A Revised Classification of Manuscript Groups for the Early Books of the Latin Translation of Josephus's *Antiquities* Based on Textual Variants in *AJ* 6.356–360 and 6.362b," *Medievalia et Humanistica* 46 (2021): 69–146; cf. Randolf Lukas, ed., *Josephus Latinus,* Antiquitates Judaicae, *Buch 6 und 7: Einleitung, Edition und Kommentar zur Übersetzungstechnik* (Bochumer Altertumswissenschaftliches Colloquium) 112 (Trier: 2022); Bernd Bader, ed., *Josephus Latinus: De Bello Iudaico, Buch 1* (Palingenesia) 119 (Stuttgart: 2019).

9 Rosamond McKitterick, *History and Memory in the Carolingian World* (Cambridge: 2001), 45–47.

> Having myself already followed with my pen the four Books of Kingdoms which the sacred scripture contained, all the way up to the captivity of the Jews and the destruction of the wall and the triumphs of Babylon, I have composed them in the manner of history. Likewise, a prophetic report has related briefly the deeds done by the Maccabees. Of what remains, up to the burning of the temple and the spoils of Titus Caesar, Josephus, famous for his historical composition, is the one who reports it; yet would that he had attended to reverence and truth as much as the investigation of events and the prudence of speeches. For in his speech itself, which he gave forth concerning their punishments, he shows himself to be a participant in the faithlessness of the Jews, whose arms he deserted, yet whose sacrilege he did not relinquish. He grieved the misfortune with tears but did not intuit the cause of the same.[10]

It is difficult to see how a reader could comprehend this opening and still attribute *De excidio* to Josephus. However, it should be noted here that this Prologue, along with the first dozen or more chapters of the work, are absent in *De excidio*'s extant ancient codices: Milan, Ambros. C 105 inf. (s. V–VI + VIII = *CLA* III 323a-b) and Kassel, Landesbibliothek, Theol. 65 (s. VI = *CLA* VIII 1139).[11] It is not impossible, though not particularly likely, that *De excidio*'s prologue postdates the original text. But even if this were so, this is not the only place where Ps-Hegesippus speaks of Josephus thusly. Again, in Book Two the author discusses Josephus in unflattering third-person terms:

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10 *De excidio*, prol. 1, 3: "Quattuor libros Regnorum quos scriptura complexa est sacra, etiam ipse stilo persecutus usque ad captiuitatem Iudaeorum murique excidium et Babylonis triumphos historiae in morem composui. Macchabaeorum quoque res gestas propheticus sermo paucis absoluit; reliquorum usque ad incendium templi et manubias Titi Caesaris relator egregius historico stilo Iosephus, utinam tam religioni et ueritati attentus quam rerum indagini et sermonum sobrietati. Consortem se enim perfidiae Iudaeorum etiam in ipso sermone exhibuit, quem de eorum supplicio manifestauit, et quorum arma deseruit eorum tamen sacrilegia non dereliquit: deplorauit flebiliter aerumnam, sed ipsius causam aerumnae non intellexit."

11 Adam Gitner, "Hegesippus," in *The Oxford Guide to the Transmission of the Latin Classics*, ed. Justin Stover (Oxford: forthcoming) describes this hybrid codex, whose first, older part is "a semi-uncial text on high-quality parchment from the late fifth or sixth century" whose "missing or illegible folia were later replaced in a crude, pre-Carolingian minuscule." He also discusses a poem celebrating the Synod of Pavia (698) on fol. 121 at the end of Book Three, which provides a clue to the date of the manuscript's repair (and notes that the same poem appears in the Fronto palimpsest: Milan, Ambros. E. 147 sup. = *CLA* I 26b-c).

> The Jews themselves bear witness [to Jesus' crucifixion] in the declaration of Josephus, the writer of histories, that "there had been at that time a wise man, if indeed it is fitting," he said, "that a doer of miraculous works be called a man, who appeared to his disciples three days after his death, living, according to what had been written by the prophets, who prophesied both this and innumerable other things, full of the miraculous, concerning him. From him stemmed the assembly of the Christians and it has penetrated into every race of men, nor has any nation of the Roman world been excluded, which has been left devoid of his worship." If the Jews do not believe us, let them believe their own. Josephus said this, whom they themselves hold in the highest regard, and although he spoke what was true as regards the thing itself, he was of faulty judgement, so that he did not believe his own words. But he said this for the sake of [producing] credible history, because he considered it criminal to lie, [yet] he did not believe due to his hardness of heart and his penchant for faithlessness. Yet he was not prejudiced concerning the truth of the matter because he did not believe, but rather added more to his testimony because, though incredulous and reluctant, he did not negate the facts.[12]

Ps-Hegesippus does more here than simply quote or paraphrase the famous *Testimonium Flavianum*, Josephus' apparent mention of Jesus at *Antiquities* 18.63–64.[13] He evaluates Josephus' motives and trustworthiness and deploys a characteristic "us/them" paradigm separating the Christian author and

12 *De excidio* 2.12.1, 163–164: "De quo ipsi Iudaei quoque testantur dicente Iosepho historiarum scriptore, quod fuerat illo in tempore uir sapiens, si tamen oportet, inquit, uirum dici mirabilium creatorem operum, qui apparuerit discipulis suis post triduum mortis suae uiuens secundum prophetarum scripta, qui et haec et alia innumerabilia de eo plena miraculi prophetauerunt. Ex quo coepit congregatio Christianorum et in omne hominum penetrauit genus, nec ulla natio Romani orbis remansit, quae cultus eius expers relinqueretur. Si nobis non credunt Iudaei, uel suis credant. Hoc dixit Iosephus, quem ipsi maximum putant, et tamen ita in eo ipso quod uerum locutus est mente deuius fuit, ut nec sermonibus suis crederet. Sed locutus est propter historiae fidem, quia fallere nefas putabat, non credidit propter duritiam cordis et perfidiae intentionem. Non tamen ueritati praeiudicat, quia non credidit sed plus addidit testimonio, quia nec incredulus et inuitus negauit."

13 See generally Alice Whealey, *Josephus on Jesus: The Testimonium Flavianum Controversy from Late Antiquity to Modern Times* (Studies in Biblical Literature) 36 (New York: 2003), and more particularly eadem, "Josephus on Jesus: Evidence from the First Millennium," *Theologische Zeitschrift* 5 (1995): 285–304, which argues that *De excidio*, like Jerome, relied on an earlier non-Josephan version of the *Testimonium* (299).

assumed reader from the narrative's Jewish other. The material point is that, as in the prologue and as elsewhere in the work, at *De excidio* 2.12 the author explicitly and obviously distances his own narrative (and perspective) from that of his most prominent *auctor* and source, Flavius Josephus.[14]

Another thing that makes the Josephan authorship of *De excidio* immediately untenable is the Christian content of the work. The prologue and 2.12.1–3 both contain overtly Christian material, as does the summary of Pontius Pilate's career that comes between them at 2.5.2.[15] Additional Christian content includes a story of the martyr deaths of the apostles Peter and Paul at *De excidio* 3.2;[16] a thoroughly-theologized iteration of Christian historiographical supersessionism packed into an oration directed at Jerusalem/the Jews by the narrator at 5.2.1;[17] and summative statements linking the destruction of Jerusalem and the Jews to the crucifixion of Jesus at 5.32.1 and 5.44.1.[18] Add to

14 At *De excidio* 1.1.8 Ps-Hegesippus refers to Josephus as *auctor* of a story he relates (cf. *War* 1.61; *Antiquities* 13.247–249).

15 *De excidio* 2.5.2, 139: "For what did he not dare to do, who affixed to the cross Christ the Lord, who had come for the good of the human race, pouring forth the grace of his mercy to men through many and divine works, and never teaching anything except that which was from God from the beginning, in which he made the people obedient to their emperors? This one, demented, became the minister of an outrageous sacrilege, and killed the author of life. In this way by him the affairs of the Jews were brought to ruin, and by him the annihilation of the race and the destruction of the Temple were hastened. For if Herod, who gave over John to a violent death, paid the price of his perfidy and cruelty when he was ejected from kingship and given to exile, how much more is it given that he who killed Christ is known to have been given over to violent torments?" ("Quid enim non auderet, qui etiam Christum dominum ad salutem humani generis aduenientem, multis et diuinis operibus profundentem in homines misericordiae suae gratiam nihilque aliud docentem, nisi quod primum deo, deinde imperatoribus faceret populos oboedientes, cruci suffixerit? Demens qui minister esset sacrilegi furoris et interficeret auctorem salutis. Ex illo itaque Iudaeorum res perditae, ex illo exitium genti temploque maturatum excidium. Nam si Herodes, qui Iohannem neci tradidit, perfidiae et crudelitatis suae pretium luit deiectus regno atque exilio datus, quanto magis praecipitibus furiis actum intellegi datur eum qui Christum occiderit?)." Eva Matthews Sanford, "Propaganda and Censorship in the Transmission of Josephus," *Transactions and Proceedings of the American Philological Association* 66 (1935): 127–145 marked this passage as the beginning of the "naturally frequent" Christian insertions hereafter, and seemed surprised that no Christian content appears between the prologue and 2.5.2.

16 The *Passio Petri et Pauli*. See Carson Bay, "The *Passion of Peter and Paul*: A New Translation and Introduction" in *New Testament Apocrypha: More Noncanonical Scriptures, Volume 3*, ed. Tony Burke (Grand Rapids: 2023), 465–478.

17 See Bay, "The Bible, the Classics, and the Jews."

18 *De excidio* 5.32.1, 373: "Josephus finished his speech, but John was moved by none of these tears nor dissuaded by promises. For already God had long since been driving on their perfidious minds, by which they were to defile themselves with impious parricide by

this some subtle citations of the New Testament Gospels,[19] a less subtle statement about "abolishing the old and founding the new" (cf. 2 Corinthians 5:17) at 4.5.1, which Albert Bell dubbed one of the passages "most revealing" of Ps-Hegesippus' Christian viewpoint,[20] and the monumentally unsubtle statement in 5.9.4 to the effect that the concept of a divine Trinity (*cognitio Trinitatis*) existed previously within the furniture of the Jewish Temple. Did ancient or medieval readers really think that Josephus penned all of these passages? Was Josephus a Trinitarian?

A final, and not insignificant, point may further be made with regard to *De excidio*'s narrative and literary framework. *De excidio*'s five-book structure is radically different from Josephus' seven-book *Bellum*, apart from Ps-Hegesippus' use of numerous sources beyond the *War*. *De excidio*'s narrative in Books one to four generally corresponds to, but radically rearranges, the contents of Books one to four of Josephus' *Jewish War*, after which *De excidio* crams Books five to seven of the *Bellum* into its substantial and final fifth book. Any seeming parallelism belies *De excidio*'s very different makeup in terms of relative chapter size, overall word count, and structure – this has now been confirmed independently both in my own current monograph and in a recent article by Justin Stover and George Woudhuysen.[21] To round things off, the very end of *De excidio* is conspicuously unlike the end of Josephus' *Jewish War*. In the latter, not only does the narrative continue after the description of mass

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crucifying Jesus Christ (*Vrguebat deus iam dudum perfidas mentes, ex quo se impio parricidio commacularunt Christum Iesum crucifigentes*). This is he whose death was the destruction of the Jews, born of Mary, who came to them and who's own did not receive him. For when did the Jews ever not kill their own?" Ps-Hegesippus puts an un-Christianized version of the same idea – that the Jews were being destroyed as divine punishment – into Josephus' mouth in 5.31.2. Compare *De excidio* 5.44.1, citing Luke 21:25.

19 *De excidio* 2.5.3, 139–140, citing Mark 6:17–18 // Matthew 14:3, 11; *De excidio* 3.14.1, 207–208, citing John 4:20–24; *De excidio* 5.44.1, 392, citing Luke 21:25 and alluding, perhaps, to Matthew 27:51.

20 Albert A. Bell, Jr., "An Historiographical Analysis of the *De Excidio Hierosolymitano* of Pseudo-Hegesippus" (PhD Dissertation, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, NC, 1977), 216, regarding *De excidio* 4.5.1, 247: "Whence it seemed good to the ruler of all things to abolish the old things and to establish new things (*abolere uetera, noua condere*), so that they might follow the truth who had not followed by means of the temporary copies of faithlessness." This line ostensibly separates Christian *ueritas* from Jewish *infidelitas*.

21 See Justin A. Stover and George Woudhuysen, "*Historiarum Libri Quinque*: Hegesippus Between Josephus and Sallust," *Histos* 16 (2022): 1–27, esp. 6–8 and Chapter one in Carson Bay, *Biblical Heroes & Classical Culture in Christian Late Antiquity: The Historiography, Exemplarity, & Anti-Judaism of Pseudo-Hegesippus* (Cambridge: 2023). For a similar study of the distinctive structure of Josephus' *Jewish War*, see Steve Mason, "Josephus' Judean War," in *A Companion to Josephus*, 13–35.

Jewish suicide atop Mount Masada (7.402–455), but Josephus relates that the Roman soldiers "admired the nobility of the Jews' resolve" in embracing death so readily (7.406). No such continuation, and no such admiration, appears at the end of *De excidio*. There the narrative ends starkly and tellingly following the death of what are effectively the last surviving Jews in the narrative (5.53.2). There is no afterword. And the Romans are not impressed.

Given the wealth and ubiquity of cues within *De excidio* pointing *to* a Christian author and *away from* the notion of Josephan authorship, I find it difficult to imagine that early readers of *De excidio* could genuinely attribute the work to Josephus. Did they?

2 The Josephan Attribution of *De excidio*

Given the Christian content of *De excidio*, it seems odd that early readers would unanimously identify it as a Josephan text. Yet, as Richard Pollard points out in a much-cited article, the manuscripts suggest that *De excidio* "circulated under the name of Josephus until well into the ninth century."[22] Indeed, decades earlier Albert Bell had already noted that "the pseudonym Hegesippus does not appear in any manuscript (except as an emendation) or in any secondary citation before the ninth century."[23] The earliest author to cite *De excidio*, Eucherius of Lyons, apparently cites it as the work of Josephus, as also does the Venerable Bede, another early reader of the text.[24]

When the pseudonym "Hegesippus" did show up, perhaps it emerged due to confusion between the author of *De excidio* and the Hegesippus whose five-book Greek *Hypomnēmata* is preserved in Eusebius' *Historia Ecclesiastica*,[25] or perhaps the name stems from a confusion of the orthographically similar

22 Richard Matthew Pollard, "The *De Excidio* of 'Hegesippus' and the Reception of Josephus in the Early Middle Ages," *Viator* 46 (2015): 65–100, at 67–69.

23 Bell, "Historiographical Analysis," 4. Bell's unpublished dissertation, which deals with the speeches in *De excidio*, is probably the single most-cited source in the study of Ps-Hegesippus over the past several decades.

24 Eucherius, *De situ Hierusolimitanae Urbis*, ed. P. Geyer, CCSL 175 (Turnhout: 1965) 240–241, quoting *De excidio* 3.6, calls the author "*Iosephus nobilis historicus Iudaeorum*."

25 See Eusebius, *Hist. Eccl.* 2.23.3–19; 3.11, 16, 19, 20.1–7, 32.1–8; 4.8.1–2, 11.7, 21, 22.1–9; cf. Jerome, *Vir. Ill.* 2.3–5; 22.105; F. Stanley Jones, "Hegesippus as a Source for the History of Jewish Christianity," in *Le Judéo-Christianisme dans tous ses états*, eds. Simon Claude Mimouni and F. Stanley Jones (Paris: 2001), 201–212. This 2nd-century Hegesippus, like Ps-Hegesippus, wrote about James the brother of Jesus, perhaps prompting the conflation by Jerome at *Vir. Ill.* 22.1.

"Egesippus" and "Iosippus" (perhaps with an *ex* prefix), or both.[26] Either way, the fact is that at least by the 9th century, *De excidio* was coming to be associated with an author other than Josephus. Nor was this particular distancing of *De excidio* from Josephus an isolated phenomenon. Already one of the earliest extant manuscripts of *De excidio* – Milan, Ambros. C 105 inf – imputed the work's *translation* to Ambrose of Milan.[27] Indeed, Ambrose has been the individual most often deemed responsible for *De excidio* in the history of scholarship.[28] Two other manuscripts – Karlsruhe, Badische Landesbibliothek,

26 See discussions in Pollard, "The *De Excidio*," Bell, "Historiographical Analysis," and Ussani, xxiv–xxv. A clue as to the orthographic slip comes in Milan, Ambros. C 105 inf, fol. 67v, where in the name *EGESIPPI* the *GE* are half the size of the other letters and appear to be superimposed over an original *O*; the *E* at the beginning of the name appears to be a recreation of what was originally an *I* (the top-left serif is shorter and lighter than those of the top-right and bottom-right of the extant *E*). In other words, *EGESIPPI* here appears to be a correction of an earlier *IOSIPPI* (see further the next note below). This may explain the original transition to the Hegesippus attribution, and is, as far as I know, the only codicological illustration of this authorial transposition. See Vincenzo Ussani, "La questione e la critica del cosi detto Egesippo," *Studi italiani di filología classica* 14 (1906): 245–361, 250, already citing the previous comment by Benedict Niese, ed. *Flavii Iosephi Opera, Vol. VI: De Bello Iudaico Libros VII Ediderunt Iustus A. Destinon et Benedictus Niese* (Berlin: 1955 [1898]), xix, n. 3. The explicit/incipit is to be dated to the 9th century, at Bobbio, according to Alfio Rosario Natale, *Influenze Merovingiche e Studi Calligrafici nello Scriptorium di Bobbio* (*Secoli VII–IX*) (Estratto dai Fontes Ambrosiani) XXVI (Milan: 1951), 1–16. My thanks to Richard Pollard for pointing me to these earlier studies, and for providing me with his own knowledge of this manuscript folio, regarding which he had also corresponded with Mirella Ferrari in 2017. These items are also noted in Tommaso Leoni, "Translations and Adaptations of Josephus's Writings in Antiquity and the Middle Ages," *Rivista di antichità* 16 (2006): 481–492, at 483, n. 16.

27 Fol. 67v reads mid-page: "*EGESIPPI LIB*[*ER*] *PRIMUS EXPL*[*ICIT*] *INC*[*I*]*P*[*IT*] *SEC*[*UN*] *D*[*UM*] *AMBROSI*[*US*] *DE GREGO TRANSTULIT IN LATINU*[*M*]." The attribution of translation to Ambrose seems to antedate the ascription of authorship to "Hegesippus" in place of "Iosippus."

28 See Chiara Somenzi, *Egesippo – Ambrogio: Formazione scolastica e Cristiana a Roma alla metà del IV secolo* (Studia Patristica Mediolanensia) 27 (Milan: 2009). Arguments for Ambrosian authorship in modern scholarship go back at least to A. Reifferscheid, "Die römischen Bibliotheken. 6. Die vaticanische Bibliothek. a. Bibliotheca Palatina," *Sitzungsberichte der Kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften: Philosophisch-historische Classe* 55–56 (1867): 441–556. Arguments against Ambrosian authorship go back much further, even to Erasmus in 1527 according to Friedrich Vogel, *De Hegesippo, qui dicitur, Iosephi interprete* (Erlangen: 1881), 1, suggesting that belief in Ambrose's authorship was a medieval legacy. The question has dominated scholarship on *De excidio*, to the point that studies which need not be moored to the question of Ambrosian authorship (including Somenzi's book) have framed themselves in those terms. This is true of, e.g., William Francis Dwyer, *The Vocabulary of Hegesippus: A Study in Latin Lexicography* (Catholic University of America Patristic Studies) 27 (Washington, D.C.: 1931) and John Patrick McCormick, *A*

Aug. perg. 82 (x. IX$^{2/4}$)[29] and St. Gallen, Stiftsbibliothek CSG 626 (s. IX$^{1/4}$)[30] – imply that a certain Cyprian, perhaps Bishop Cyprian of Toulon (episcopate 524–546), edited or repaired or perhaps corrected the text, whatever that might mean.[31] Even while *De excidio* was certainly linked to Josephus, it seems that already in Late Antiquity, the text may have been associated with Christian authors, translators, or editors as well. Significantly, the text of the Latin *War* was similarly ambiguous in Cassiodorus' time, having been credited to Ambrose and Rufinus and Jerome himself.[32] Like the Latin *War*, *De excidio* was recognized early on as stemming from Flavius Josephus yet was associated with later Christian authors as well.

The ambivalence buried in this last sentence points the way to where I am going here. What does it mean that scribes and authors of the first millennium

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Study of the Nominal Syntax and of Indirect Discourse in Hegesippus (Catholic University of America Patristic Studies) 43 (Washington, D.C.: 1935). See further the non-definitive study of Albert A. Bell, Jr., "Early Latin Versions of the *Quo Vadis* Story and the Ambrosian Authorship of *De Excidio Hierosolymitano*," *Patristic and Byzantine Review* 9 (1990): 171–180. Current/recent work by myself, Justin Stover, and George Woodhuysen show that all previous attempted authorial attributions of *De excidio* are extremely unlikely.

29 Bischoff, *Katalog*, no. 1618.

30 Bischoff, *Katalog*, no. 5823.

31 Sang. 626 attributes *De excidio* to *Iosephus* (156, 209), *Iosepphus* (245), or simply *Historiographus* (245), but has a subscription by a 9th-century scribe (2) reading: "*Cyprianum quondam huius operis aiunt reparatore*" ("they say that a certain Cyprian was the restorer of this work"). (Might Cyprian have been restoring the Prologue and early chapters missing from the earlier tradition as represented by Milan, Ambros. C 105 inf. and Kassel Theol. 65, discussed above?) The same subscription appears in Karlsruhe Aug. 82, which begins: "*INCIPIT SIC CIPRIANI PRAEFATIO SUPER QUINQUE LIBROS HISTORIAE IOSEPPI DE BELLO IUDAICO*" (fol. 1r). Alfred Holder, *Die Reichenauer Handschriften,* vol. 1: *Die Pergamenthandschriften* (Die Handschriften der grossherzoglich badischen Hof- und Landesbibliothek in Karlsruhe) 5 (Leipzig: 1906), 223–225 identified this Cyprian with Cyprian of Toulon, which prompted Germain Morin, in "Review of Vincenzo Ussani, *Iosippi* (*Hegesippi qui dicitur*) *Historiae liber 1*," *Bulletin d'ancienne littérature chrétienne latine* 1 (1929): 157–158 to suggest that Cyprian had corrected *De excidio* at the behest of Caesarius of Arles (d. 542), his patron, though, Vincenzo Ussani, in "Lezioni varie e scolii de classici in servigio del Dizionario medievale," *Archivum latinitatis medii aevi* 1 (1924): 20–26 saw the *subscriptio*, which refers to a *pater dulcis* and to a *Stephan*[*us*] *sacer*, as being thus connected to a certain 'Stephen' as its patron. I am indebted to Judith Mania for helping me deal with these manuscripts and their intriguing contents.

32 Jerome denies such authorship in *Ep.* 71. Rufinus' authorship of the Latin *War* is falsely suggested by a few codices: Rome, Biblioteca Vaticana, Lat. 1992 (s. X) and Berlin, Staatsbibliothek, Lat. 226 (s. XII = Tübingen, Universitätsbibliothek, Lat. 226). Interestingly, Rome Lat. 1992 also contains snippets from *De excidio* and Jerome's *De viris illustribus* (fol. 171r). On Rufinus' authorship, cf. Gennadius *Vir. Ill.* 17 and see Leoni, "Translations and Adaptations," 481.

referred to *De excidio* as the work of Josephus? Did they even do this? A framework for thinking about this can be initially constructed using two extremes. On the one side, I think it is safe to assume that every reader of *any* 'Latin Josephus' text – the Latin *Antiquities*, the Latin *War*, the Latin *Against Apion*, or *De excidio* – will have known that Josephus wrote in Greek, not Latin, and therefore that what they were reading was, at most, a piece of literature originally written by Josephus but mediated by translators (indeed, even if they had the Greek before them they would have assumed the mediation of copyists). That is to say that no ancient or medieval readers of *De excidio* would have thought themselves to be holding a piece of parchment to which the historical Josephus had actually applied his pen. On the other side, I think it unlikely that any readers of *De excidio* have ever understood themselves to be faced with a text completely unrelated to the work of Josephus. Indeed, how could they? Josephus is named as *relator egregius* of the work's effective contents in the Prologue and cited as *auctor* at several junctures. Thus, as a starting point, I suggest that all ancient and medieval readers of *De excidio* – including those who appear to attribute the work to Josephus in one way or another – thought neither that they were reading a piece of parchment that Josephus had literally marked nor that they were reading an absolutely non-Josephan text. Rather, readers would have fallen somewhere in between.

This prompts the question: what does it mean for an author like Eucherius or Bede to cite "Josephus" when quoting *De excidio*, or for the scribe of Karlsruhe Aug. 82 to refer to the work (apparently) as the *quinque libri historiae Ioseppi de Bello Iudaico* (fol. 1r)? I suggest a range between two possibilities, both of which fall between the improbable and radical poles discussed above. On the one hand, I can see such readers understanding themselves to be looking at a work which, while not Josephus' narrative per se, still tells Josephus' basic story and thus may still be reasonably ascribed to him; this would be something like a Roman reader calling the Latin translation of the *Odyssey* by Livius Andronicus the 'story of Homer,' which is not unimaginable.[33] On the other hand, one might envision a reader perusing *De excidio* and perceiving a Josephan text that had undergone some editing and annotation, a kind of Christian 'correcting' that need not remove the text's Josephan roots. Perhaps

33 Horace (*Ep.* 2.2.41; 2.1.69–71) notes that both Homer and Livius were read in Roman schools. Indeed, the author of the *Annals*, Ennius, "had claimed to be a Homer reborn," before later critics dubbed him the less laudatory *alter Homerus*. See recently Mario Citroni, "The Concept of the Classical and the Canons of Model Authors in Roman Literature," in *Classical Pasts: The Classical Traditions of Greece and Rome* (Princeton: 2021), 204–237, at 213.

the amanuensis responsible for Karlsruhe Aug. 82 had something like this in mind when introducing *De excidio*'s prologue as a "preface to the five books of Josephus on the Jewish War" (*praefatio super quinque libros Ioseppi de bello Iudaico*; fol. 1r). It is not difficult to imagine a reader apprehending *De excidio* as a translated-and-slightly-annotated version of Josephus' *Jewish War*. After all, in Late Antiquity and the Middle Ages it was a very fine line indeed that could separate an *auctor* from an *editor*, *redactor*, *reperator*, or *translator*.[34]

In sum, then, my suggestion in this essay is that when early readers ascribe *De excidio* to Josephus, they are *not* saying that 'Josephus wrote this,' but instead something more like 'this work stands in the Josephan tradition.' In this way, *De excidio* was understood to be part of Josephus' legacy or heritage. In what follows, I seek to shed light on this idea from *De excidio*'s manuscript tradition. I believe that all these cases can fit comfortably with the idea that early readers of *De excidio* understood that they were not reading Josephus *stricto sensu*.

3 The Case of *De excidio* 2.9.1

As in any ancient work of history, the speeches within *De excidio* comprised some of the passages of greatest interest to ancient and medieval readers. Not coincidentally, these were also the passages in which Ps-Hegesippus made his most extreme and glaring departures from his Josephan *Vorlage*, when it

34 Indeed, *De excidio* itself was subject to reduction and redaction throughout the Middle Ages, whilst still retaining its Hegesippian moniker. We see this in a work often called "Pseudo-Ambrose" and/or the *Anacephalaeosis* (PL 15: 2205–2218), a short text formally titled *Recapitulatio desolationis hierosolimae, secundum egesippum christianissimum* (or *per egesÿppum*), which contains a few verbatim quotes of *De excidio* 5.1 and a full repetition of 5.2 (on which see Bay, "The Bible, the Classics, and the Jews") within a generalized anti-Jewish historical-theological discourse, possibly a sermon to be read at Easter. The work sits within a codex full of Augustine's writings under the section heading *de Pascha* in Orléans, Bibliothèque municipale, 0163 (140) (s. XII$^{1/2}$), fols. 189–194; another codex containing works of Isidore of Seville, the Venerable Bede (to whom the work is attributed in the official library catalog by Dr. Evelien Hauwaerts), and a sermon of Augustine: Bruges, Hoofdbibliotheek Biekorf, 022 (s. XIII), fols. 161v–168v; and three other 12th-century manuscripts: 1) Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, Lat. 2343, fols. 156r–160v; 2) Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, Lat. 13333 1, fols. 45v–56r; 3) Semur, Bibliothèque municipale, 15. See Amnon Linder, "Ps. Ambrose's *Anacephalaeiosis*: A Carolingian Treatise on the Destruction of Jerusalem," *Revue d'histoire des textes* 22 (1992): 145–158. By the same token as this section's argument, medieval authors apparently considered this very short abridgement to be the work of "Hegesippus" in some indefinite sense.

existed at all.[35] And this would have been normal, expected, and intelligible to the pre-modern reader: Livy, the most famous Latin historian, had done the exact same thing in his *Ab urbe condita* with the speeches he found in his Greek source, Polybius' *Histories*. But whereas Livy was to be a more famous personality than Polybius among posterity, between Josephus and Ps-Hegesippus things went the other way round: Josephus' persona enjoyed a considerable *Nachleben*, whereas the author of *De excidio* always was and still remains, as we have seen, a nebulous and unknown figure.

Perhaps it was this very fact of Josephan notoriety vis-à-vis Ps-Hegesippian anonymity that caused one late antique excerpter to refer to a speech of Agrippa lifted from *De excidio* 2.9 – and placed after 235 folia of Augustine – as Josephan. The copyist of Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, Lat. 13367 (s. VI–VII = *CLA* V 659) introduces the oration thus: "From the history of Josephus, where Agrippa, King of the Jewish people, spoke forth when they were wanting to flee from Roman domination, among other things. He spoke thus:"[36]

The speech that follows is incomplete: it begins partway through 2.9.1 (with *Vnius igitur culpa* …) and ends with the opening words of 2.9.2 (*Haec dicens inlacrimauit*).[37] The excerpt thus only contains about three-quarters of the original Latin oration.[38] Nevertheless, even this truncated version is nearly as long as the Josephan Greek original,[39] than which Ps-Hegesippus' full version is fifty percent longer, making it *De excidio*'s longest oration, according to Albert Bell.[40] Bell further posits that Ps-Hegesippus' reworking of this speech "provides eloquent proof" of Karl Mras's earlier observation that Ps-Hegesippus

35 See Bell, "Historiographical Analysis." Two of the major speeches in *De excidio* – by the author/narrator at 5.22.1 and by Matthias at 5.22.1 –have no true precedent in Josephus' Greek. On the influence of speeches in Josephus and *De excidio,* see discussion in the essays of Lake and Kletter in the present volume.

36 Paris, BnF Lat. 13367, fol. 235v (the speech ends on fol. 240v): [In margin: Incipit] "de historia Iosippi ubi Agrippa rex populum Iudaeorum adloquebatur cum uellint recedere a dominatione Romanorum inter reliqua. Sic ait."

37 *De excidio* 2.9.1, 148–157. After the speech one reads: "Explicit contio Agrippae ad populum Iudaeorum." Bell, "Historiographical Analysis," 166 n. 34 calls the excerpting of this speech an "honor" accorded to Ps-Hegesippus' rhetorical "efforts" akin to similar excerpts of historiographical speeches, like those of Livy mentioned by Suetonius, *Dom.* 10.3. See further E. Kalinka, "Analecta Latin, III: Ad Josephum latinum," *Wiener Studien* 16 (1894): 93–111.

38 I.e., 1,940 of 2,541 words in Ussani's edition (or 12,250 out of 16,123 characters without spaces, 14,189 out of 18,665 characters with spaces).

39 Josephus, *Jewish War.* 2.345–401, containing by my count 2,013 Greek words. Bell, "Historiographical Analysis," 181, compares Josephus' 296 Greek lines to Ps-Hegesippus' 331, which he adjusts to 410.

40 Bell, "Historiographical Analysis," 181.

"treats Josephus' speeches *liberrime*, omitting, adding, and changing the order of material and giving his talent free reign."[41] The speech exaggerates the anti-Jewish invective characteristic of *De excidio.*[42] In other words, the Latin oration contained in Paris, BnF Lat. 13367 is hardly mistakable for the Josephan to anyone remotely familiar with the two texts.[43] I doubt that ancient readers will have made the misidentification that Heinz Schreckenberg apparently did.[44] I suggest, therefore, that we should read the introductory *de historia Iosippi* as a generic signal, along the lines of 'from the Josephus tradition.'

It just so happens that another early reference to this speech is extant. Bede, whom Richard Pollard has shown to have used *De excidio* quite a bit, borrows a line from *De excidio* 2.9.1 in his *Exposition on the Acts of the Apostles* 26.27.[45] There, after Paul witnesses to Agrippa, Bede recalls this line from Agrippa's *contio* with the Jews: "But do you presume the aid of *religio* when the disciples of Jesus have already filled the Roman world, or do we think that this *religio* could grow without the consent of God?"[46] The line Bede lifts from *De excidio* 2.9.1 is the line in which Agrippa marvels at the divinely inspired growth of Christianity. Did Bede think that Josephus had written this? Laistner, Bede's modern editor,

41 Bell, "Historiographical Analysis," 181 (cf. 52), citing Karl Mras, "Die Hegesippus-Frage," *Anzeiger der philosophisch-historischen Klasse. Öesterreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften Wien* 95 (1958): 143–153.

42 Bell also notes that the speech contains three of the eight instances of the work's paradigmatic keyword *excidium* in Book Two ("Historiographical Analysis," 52) and counts as one of *De excidio*'s primary targetings of the Jews for their own responsibility regarding their historical predicament, a theme on which he follows Josephus to some extent (133 and 165, n. 21). The speech of *De excidio* 2.9.1 is "the only major deliberative speech in Book 2," 181.

43 In addition, *De excidio* 2.9 contains information which has helped scholars date it to sometime in the late 4th century, such as a reference to *Britannia redacta*, an apparent nod to Count Theodosius' bid to re-establish Roman supremacy in Britain in 367 A.D. (Bell, "Historiographical Analysis," 2). Further, Bell suggests that the speech's panegyric of Rome bespeaks unawareness of the disaster at Adrianople or of the German incursions which marked the last two decades of the 4th century.

44 Heinz Schreckenberg, *Bibliographie zu Flavius Josephus* (Arbeiten zur Literatur und Geschichte des hellenistischen Judentums) 1 (Leiden: 1968), citing Kalinka, "Ad Josephum Latinum," describes Paris, BnF 13367 as "der am Ende die Agripparede Bell. Jud. 2,345ff. enthält," 126.

45 See Pollard, "The *De Excidio*," 84–85 with notes. For a fuller treatment of Bede's use, see Hilliard's essay in this volume.

46 "Sed de religionis auxilio praesumitis, cum orbem iam Romanum Iesu discipuli repleuerint, aut sine Dei nutu putamus illam crescere religionem." Bede, *Expositio Actuum Apostolorum*, ed. M.L.W. Laistner, CCSL 121 (Turnhout: 1983), 93.28–35 or (PL 92.991C-D). Pollard, "The *De Excidio*," 85, n. 112.

seems to have assumed so.[47] And, while Bede does not cite "Josephus" in this instance, he does credit "Josephus" elsewhere in that work (the only time he ever does so).[48] Based on this attribution, Pollard concludes: "Clearly the attribution to Josephus was current already in the 5th century and was acceptable even to a careful scholar like Bede, who also knew Josephus very well from the more literal Cassiodorean translation of the *Antiquities*."[49] But what, exactly, was acceptable to Bede? Identifying *De excidio* as the literal work of Josephus or, rather, citing "Josephus" as its ultimate inspiration and the natural referent in the absence of a true known author? Was Bede both a "careful scholar" *and* fundamentally mistaken as to what *De excidio* was and was not in relation to Josephus? Perhaps, but not necessarily.

4 The Case of *De excidio 3.2* (*The Passio Petri et Pauli*)

Another passage from *De excidio* that may throw our question into a helpful relief is the remarkable insertion at 3.2 – right in the middle of the work – of an account of Peter's and Paul's martyrdoms under Nero and one of Peter's famous run-ins with Simon Magus, the arch nemesis of the ancient Christian historical imaginary. This passage, called the *Passion of Peter and Paul*, is the only place at which *Christiani* are named as such in all of *De excidio*, and it is the only time that Christian characters appear as actors in the narrative. I would like to suggest that this is one more passage where it strains the imagination to envision readers associating the account with the 1st-century Jewish historian Josephus.

The reason why this suggestion could be important is that manuscript evidence suggests that Christians found this passage to be very important from relatively early on. Milan, Ambros. C 105 inf. marks off this passage with prominent crosses in the margins (fols. 95v-97v).[50] By the 12th century at the latest,

47 As noted by Pollard, "The *De Excidio*," 85, n. 112.

48 Bede, *Expositio Actuum Apostolorum*, 87.83–93.

49 Pollard, "The *De Excidio*," 85. Consult here Michael Lapidge, *The Anglo-Saxon Library* (Oxford: 2005), 218.

50 Such paratextual data is not necessarily evidence of anything in and of itself. Medieval manuscripts are generally full of marginalia, and this was perhaps especially true of Jewish authors like Josephus, whose works Christian readers habitually mined for information supporting their own historical, theological, and ideological interests. Nor do crosses, for example, always carry a clear meaning: on fol. 238v of Paris, BnF Lat. 13367 a cross stands alongside a passage where Agrippa is surveying Roman domination and has just come to Crete. However, in certain cases such scribal sigla seem more suggestive than in others, and clearly the crosses in Milan, Ambros. C 105 inf. signal overtly Christian content. On annotations in general, see Mariken Teeuwen and Irene van Renswoude,

the passage was being excerpted independently, often alongside other early martyr accounts. Thus, for example, Naples, Biblioteca Nazionale, XV AA 13 (s. XII) contains the *Passio Petri et Pauli* (fol. 63r-v) alongside the related martyrdom accounts of Pseudo-Abdias, Pseudo-Marcellus, and Pseudo-Latinus, and other martyrdom tales.[51] Again, in the 15th century the passage is block-quoted within a florilegium codex: Bologna, Biblioteca Universitaria 987 (fols. 21v–22r). More interesting still is another 15th-century manuscript, Prague, National Library X.E.3, which preserves the *Passio Petri et Pauli* (fol. 1v–3r) alongside selections from, among other works, the Latin *Antiquitates*, the Latin *War*, and Rufinus' Latin translation of Eusebius' *Historia Ecclesiastica*. By the high to the late Middle Ages, *De excidio* 3.2 was enjoying a tradition of its own.

It is, of course, arguable that the excerpting of the *Passio Petri et Pauli* was a later development and thus postdated the pre-9th-century period in which *De excidio* was widely thought to be a work of Josephus. Nor is it impossible that a reader could imagine Josephus, who came to, remained in, and wrote at Rome just following Nero's reign, recalling the martyrdoms of Peter and Paul. Like the early Christians, Josephus had no great love for Nero. But I think we should at least consider whether the early and enduring importance of *De excidio* 3.2 might not instead point in another direction, inviting us to imagine the reception of *De excidio* as the reception of a Latin *Christian* text, albeit one with a Josephan basis (not unlike large portions of Rufinus' *Historia Ecclesiastica*), which some – but not all – might reference as "Josephus."[52]

5 The Case of Compilation Manuscripts

There exist several manuscripts that place *De excidio* alongside other texts from the Latin Josephus tradition. While these codices do not antedate the critical 9th century in which "Egesippus" emerges as an authorial attribution in incipits, they do begin early and point again, I posit, to a general understanding among pre-modern readers that there was a difference between Josephus' authentic translated works and *De excidio*.

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eds. *The Annotated Book in the Early Middle Ages: Practices of Reading and Writing* (Turnhout, 2018).

51 Along with these traditions and the tradition preserved in Ambrose (*Aux.* 13). See the bibliography in Bay, "The *Passion of Peter and Paul*."

52 Cf. the *Adversus Elipandum* of Beatus of Liebana (d. ca. 800) and Heterius of Osma mentioned by Pollard, "The *De Excidio*," 86, who used part of *De excidio* 3.2 (the *Quo Vadis?* story) without naming their source.

An early case comes with Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, Lat. 6256 (s. IX), a codex compiling excerpts from *De excidio* 1.38 to 5.20 (fols. 30v-36v) alongside other texts.[53] Along with snippets from Sallust and Justin, another one of these texts was the Latin version of Josephus' *War*. Folio 49v, for example, contains quotes from Latin *War* 5.17 and nearby passages. The parallel section of *De excidio* (5.1.3) is much earlier than the latest passages from *De excidio* quoted in the codex, and thus it cannot be the case that the author was progressing chronologically through *De excidio* and then picking up with the Latin *War*. Instead, the compiler picked passages from both texts that cover the same material, which is to say that the compiler recognized the Latin *War* and *De excidio* as two distinct works.

In the next century there shows up the first of several manuscripts which contain both the Latin *Antiquities* and *De excidio* as a kind of historical package. Leiden, Universiteit Bibliotheek Voss. Lat. F (2^0) 17 (s. X) contains Latin *Antiquities* 1–12, 17–20, and *De excidio* in that order.[54] Moreover, the copyist identifies *De excidio* as the work of Hegesippus, translated by Ambrose, just like Milan, Ambros. C 105 inf (fol. 67v) does.[55] Note that, while these scribes imputed the work to someone other than Josephus, they erroneously believe someone to have written in Greek and been translated by Ambrose.[56] Thus, even while sewing the Latin *Antiquities* and *De excidio* together into a kind of seamless narrative of Jewish history up through the 73 A.D. Masada episode, the scribe of this manuscript separates Josephan from Hegesippian-Ambrosian material. This manuscript, whose provenance lies in Western France, was quickly succeeded by a handful of Italian manuscripts (*LAJ* = Latin *Antiquities*), see Table 2.1.

In certain arenas, these manuscripts were thought to have been the (or the kind of) manuscripts that must have lain behind *Sefer Yosippon*, an early-10th century Hebrew narrative whose main sources are the Latin *Antiquities* and *De*

53 I am grateful here to Richard Pollard, who long ago (August 15, 2017) generously shared with me his meticulously done, color-coded transcription/edition of these few folia along with a bibliography. Pollard notes that this manuscript is related to Bern, Burgerbibliothek 180 (s. IX$^{2/4}$ = Bischoff, *Katalog*, no. 549) and that both were in Fleury in the 9th century.

54 See Richard Matthew Pollard, "Reading Josephus at Vivarium? Annotations and Exegesis in Early Copies of the *Antiquities*," *Florilegium* 30 (2013): 103–142 on the annotations of the Latin *Antiquities* in this manuscript.

55 Leiden, Voss. Lat. F (2^0) 17 (fol. 165r) introduces *De excidio* thus: "*Incipit Liber Hist*[*oriae*] *B*[*elli*] *Egesipi translat*[*um*] *ab A*[*m*]*brogio Ep*[*iscop*]*o*" (with "Hist* B* Egesipi" in red).

56 This further suggests that readers assumed the Greek-writing, 2nd-century Hegesippus had penned the work.

TABLE 2.1 List of the extant manuscripts that package the Latin *Antiquities* and *De excidio* together as a kind of set of Josephan history

Shelfmark	Contents	Date
Naples, Biblioteca Nazionale, V F 34	*LAJ* 1–16 + *De excidio*	X–XI
Rome, Biblioteca Vaticana, Lat. 1998	*LAJ* 1–20 + *De excidio*	XI
Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Plut. 66.1	*LAJ* 1–16 + *De excidio*	XI
Pisa, Biblioteca Cathariniana 20	*LAJ* 1–16 + *De excidio*	XIII

excidio.[57] (This work was also, by the way, often apparently read as the work of Josephus, even as the Hebrew original mentioned in his *Jewish War* 1.3, or something like that.)[58] Here I only wish to surmise what they might tell us about readers who had both Josephus and Ps-Hegesippus to hand.

57 See David Flusser, "Der Lateinische Josephus und der hebräische Josippon," in *Josephus – Studien: Untersuchungen zu Josephus, dem antiken Judentum und dem Neuen Testament: Otto Michel zum 70. Geburtstag gewidmet*, eds. O. Betz, K. Haacker, and Martin Hengel (Göttingen: 1974), 122–132 and idem, *The Josippon* [*Josephus Gorionides*]*: Edited with Introduction, Commentary and Notes*, vol. 2 (Jerusalem: 1980), 124–132 (Hebrew). The Latin sources of *Sefer Yosippon* have only been very generally understood up to the present, with Flusser having done most of the work. See Saskia Dönitz, *Überlieferung und Rezeption des Sefer Yosippon* (Texts and Studies in Medieval and Early Modern Judaism) 29 (Tübingen 2013), 6, or eadem, "Historiography Among Byzantine Jews: The Case of Sefer Yosippon," in *Jews in Byzantium: Dialects of Minority and Majority Cultures*, eds. Robert Bonfil, Oded Irshai, Guy G. Stroumsa, and Rina Talgam (Jerusalem Studies in Religion and Culture) 14 (Leiden: 2011), 951–68, at 956. Flusser's suggestion cannot be accepted given the manuscript families represented by these manuscripts and what can be gleaned by comparing the Hebrew *Sefer Yosippon* with a potential Latin *Vorlagen*. See David B. Levenson, "Beyond Flusser: The Text of Latin *Antiquities* 13 and *Sefer Yosippon*," in *From Josephus to Yosippon and Beyond: Texts – Re-interpretations – Afterlives*, eds. Carson Bay, Michael Avioz, and Jan Willem van Henten (Supplements to the Journal for the Study of Judaism) 215 (Leiden: 2024), 211–323.

58 Some have even said that in recent years *Sefer Yosippon* has still been read as Josephus' 'Hebrew original' in orthodox Jewish circles: Steven Bowman, "'Yosippon' and Jewish Nationalism," *Proceedings of the American Academy for Jewish Research* 61 (1995): 23–51. And apparently such an understanding was quite common in the Middle Ages, since Azariah de Rossi, who began serious scholarly analysis of *Sefer Yosippon* in the 16th century, began by rectifying "the notion that the work was written by Flavius Josephus himself" and "proved that it was a medieval compilation." Saskia Dönitz, "Sefer Yosippon (Josippon)," in *A Companion to Josephus*, 382–389, at 387. See more fully now Nadia Zeldes,

One might think that such manuscripts, in putting these texts together, appear implicitly to accept *De excidio* (in the place of the *War*) as 'volume two' in Josephus' historiographical corpus. Naples, V F 34, for one, numbers *De excidio* (fols. 298r–408v) as constituting Chapters 17–21 of the Latin *Antiquities*, following the preceding text of 1.24–16.379. Nor does this manuscript mention "Hegesippus" at the beginning of *De excidio*, though a later hand has written on folio 299r: "This is not a book by Josephus" (*Iste liber non est Josephi*).[59] An insightful scribe. While it is possible that the earlier, original scribe actually understood Josephus to be *De excidio*'s author, the manuscript appears to date a little late for such credulity even if it did exist earlier and, moreover, it is difficult in this case to disentangle codicological presentation from (unspecified) authorial ascription.[60] At least one of the other Latin *Antiquities* + *De excidio* manuscripts marks clearly the non-Josephan authorship of the latter, and with increased specificity, labelling Hegesippus "a most holy man."[61] In addition, a few similar manuscripts exist that combine Latin *Antiquities*, Latin *War* – *De excidio*. Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm. 15841 (c. 1300) contains the full trifecta of the "Latin Josephus tradition" – Latin *Antiquities* followed by Latin *War* followed by *De excidio*. London, British Library, Harley 3691 (1457) contains a truncated version of this: Latin *Antiquities* 1–16 + Latin *War* 1.552–2.373, 5.365–367 + *De excidio*.[62] These later manuscripts evince a more

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Reading Jewish History in the Renaissance: Christians, Jews, and the Hebrew Sefer Josippon (Lanham, MD: 2020).

59 I owe my thanks here to notes taken on-site by Anthony Ellis.

60 The damaged fol. 1v contains in the top left: "*Incip*[*it*] *Lib*[*er*] *Iosefi*," and the bottom left marks (in red) the end of the *praefatio* and the beginning of *Liber primus*.

61 Rome, Vat. Lat. 1998 (fol. 168v) introduces *De Excidio* thus: "*EGESIPPI VIRI SANCTISSIMI ET E GREGII HISTORIOGRAPHI APOSTOLORUM QUOQUE EMPORIBUS PROXIMI ROMANORUM BELLORUM ADVERSUS IUDEOS ET HIERUSOLIMITANI EXCIDII SIVE CAPTIVITATIS IUDAICAE LIBER PRIMUS INCIPIT*" ("The work of Hegesippus, a most holy man and Greek historian of the [times of the] apostles, and also a contemporary to the emperors [responsible for] the Roman wars against the Jews and Jerusalem's destruction, or at least the Jewish captivity – book one begins here"). The manuscript clearly identifies the author of *De excidio* with the Greek Hegesippus, a major source of Eusebius'. Florence, Plut. 66.1 does not include an incipit for *De Excidio* (fol. 255r), but the end of Latin *Antiquities* 16 (fol. 254v) does include the subscription – albeit in a later hand – *"explicit lib*[*ri*] *Josephy*." Pisa, Cath. 20 only contains an incipit for *De excidio* (fol. 52r) in a later hand – "*lib. egesippi*" – after a column-length lacuna split across the page's two columns.

62 Other manuscripts that contain components of all three texts include Cortona, Biblioteca del Comune e dell'Accademia Etrusca di Cortona (304) 387.2 (s. XV), which contains *De excidio* 1.44.2 (fol. 60r-v) alongside fragments of Latin *War* Book Seven and Latin *Antiquities* Book Eight. Basel, Universitätsbibliothek F V 38 (s. XV) contains, interestingly, the first several sections of *De excidio* (Prol 1–1.1.4, at fols. av-ar) followed by an epitome of the Latin *Antiquities* and an epitome of the Latin *War*. Vienna, Österreichische

complete, more mature awareness of the breadth of the Latin Josephus tradition. But traces of this fuller understanding are observable in earlier reception and transmission.

6 Monte Cassino Compact. VIII and the Case of the Explicit Incipit

A final consideration comes from an early-11th century Beneventan manuscript from Monte Cassino, namely Compact. VIII.[63] In 1929, Vincenzo Ussani produced a study of this lengthy-yet-fragmentary codex (70 folia), identifying the manuscript family of which it is the ancient exemplar.[64] In Compact. VIII itself, as Ussani records, a notable explicit/incipit separating Books Two and Three appears on folio 19.[65] It reads: "End of Book 2, on the Maccabea[n era]; beginning of Book 3, in which Josephus was captured, his amazing [fortunes] described. I have collected the narratives [written by him] in captivity."[66] While Ussani notes that "un frego nero" has blotted out everything but *Explicit liber secundus. Incipit liber tertius Contuli*, the original explicit/incipit invites questions. First, does *de machabei* of Book Two, as opposed to the *in captivitate narrationes* imputed to Book Three, denote a distinction of source material, or just of subject matter? If the former, then this codex suggests that its scribe recognized Books 1 and 2 of *De excidio* as constituting non-Josephan material, which need not mean that the narrative could not contain content covered also in one or more of Josephus' works. And in any case, what are we to make of the first-person verb *contuli*? Was this an accident?

Nationalbibliothek, 369 (s. XIV) contains excerpts from *De excidio* alongside others from Latin *Antiquities*/*War*, Eusebius, and Richard Parisiensis amidst a manuscript packed with fragments (see fols. 5a–6b). Rome, Biblioteca Vaticana, Lat. 1992 (s. XIV) adds a few lines from *De excidio* Prol. 1 to a 10th-century manuscript containing the Latin *War* and the chapter on Josephus from Jerome's *De Viris Illustribus* (see fol. 171r). Boulogne-sur-Mer, Bibliothèque municipale 139 (s. XIII) appears to contain a compilatory smorgasbord of *De excidio* and the Latin *Antiquities* and *War*. A fuller register of extant *De excidio* manuscripts appears in chapter one of Bay, *Biblical Heroes & Classical Culture*.

63 Other portions of the manuscript have been identified as Monte Cassino Compact III and London/Oslo Schøyen Coll MS 183: Francis Newton, *The Scriptorium and Library at Monte Cassino, 1058–1105* (Cambridge: 1999), 277, n. 179.

64 The manuscripts of this family are: Vatican Lat. 1987, Vatican Lat. 1998, Florence Plut. 66.1, Florence Plut. 67.17, Florence Plut. 89 sup 15, and Naples V F 34.

65 Vincenzo Ussani, "Un ignoto codice cassinese del così detto Egesippo e i suoi affini," in *Casinensia: Miscellanea di studi cassinesi pubblicati in occasione del XIV centenario della Fondazione della badia de Monte-Cassino*, vol. 2 (Monte Cassino: 1929), 601–14, at 602–603.

66 "*Explicit de machabei liber secundus* | *Incipit liber tertius. In quo libro* | *Captus Ioseppus. mira eius describun* | *tur. In captivitate narrationes* | *contuli*."

One could make the case that *contuli* ought to have been *contulit* here, as is the case with the notations separating Books 3 and 4: on fol. 28 we find *Explicit historiarum Ioseppi liber tertius* and on fol. 29 [*Incip*]*it euisdem Ioseppi liber IIII. Contulit*.[67] Even so, the verb *confero* could imply some distance between the book in hand and the *historiae* (or *narrationes*) of Josephus. Do these explicits and incipits expose a manuscript tradition whose producers recognized that *De excidio* was a multi-sourced history, and thus *not* a Josephan work per se, but rather a collection (implied by *contuli*[*t*]) of material from Josephus (and also, perhaps, *de machabei*)?[68] Even if this is not certain, it seems difficult to rule the possibility out.

7 Conclusion

What does it mean to read *De excidio* as part of the Latin Josephus tradition? Here I have argued that, for early readers of the text, it might well have meant calling *De excidio* a work of "Josephus" while recognizing that Josephus could not technically have been considered the author of that work. I believe that the early and later manuscript tradition of *De excidio* points to a readership in the Middle Ages, and already in Late Antiquity, that appreciated *De excidio*'s connection to Josephus without necessarily assuming Josephus to be responsible for all of its contents. I think they might well have apprehended

67 The explicit/incipit between Books Four and Five on fol. 43 – *Explicit liber quartus incipit liber q*[*uintus*] – preserves no name (such as the *Ioseppi* before *tertius* or *liber IIII* in the previous explicit/incipit). This might well be a chance accident, but it is worth noting that Books Three and Four of *De excidio* are the only books of that work that correspond to the same books of Josephus' *Jewish War* without major reorganization, excision, and supplementation: Book One contains a great deal from the Books of the Maccabees, Book Two contains notable material found nowhere in the *War* (such as the *Testimonium Flavianum* at 2.12.1) and omits major sections of that book (such as 2.119–166, Josephus' famous and long description of the Jewish sects), and Book Five contains material from Books Five to Seven of the *Jewish War* along with massive omissions, major additions (e.g. 5.2.1; 5.22.1), and a wealth of overtly Christian material (e.g. 5.9.4; 5.32.1). If improbable, it is still just possible that the scribe of Compact. VIII thought that calling *De excidio* Books One, Two, and Five *libri Ioseppi* would be a stretch.

68 And indeed, Josephan and Maccabean material does not remain unconfused in its transmission and reception: for example, the earliest Syriac portion of Josephus' works appears in a manuscript of the Peshitta Bible, where it is presented as "Fifth Maccabees" (Milan, Biblioteca Ambrosiana, B 21 Inf.), and Eusebius *Historia Ecclesiastica* 3.10.6 notes a text thought to have been penned by Josephus but sometimes called *Maccabaicum*.

De excidio as either a periphrastic Latin extension of the Josephus tradition or a Josephus-based work by a Christian author whose exact authorship (though they may not have thought in those terms) was nevertheless unknown or subject to speculation, and that such an understanding could fit with certain authors or scribes calling *De excidio* a work of "Josephus."

Moving toward a conclusion, I return once more to an engagement with Richard Pollard's 2015 article, one of the more authoritative and often-referenced discussions within recent scholarship of how *De excidio* was "invariably attributed to Josephus up to the ninth century."[69] Along with manuscript evidence, Pollard discusses the early reception of *De excidio*. He notes that between 450 and 700 A.D., Ps-Hegesippus constitutes an exegetical resource for four authors: Eucherius, bishop of Lyons (d. 450), Adomnán of Iona (ca. 624–704), the Venerable Bede (ca. 673–735), and the anonymous author of the 5th- or 6th-century *Tractatus in Lucam*. In support of his suggestion that *De excidio*'s attribution to Josephus was "current" by the 5th century, he notes that two of these four – Eucherius and Bede – cite the work as that of "Josephus," though only once each. But, by the same token, two of these authors do *not* impute the work to Josephus. One way to read this 50 percent attribution rate is to reckon that Josephan authorship was an idea circulating among late ancient readers; another, however, is to imagine that Adomnán and the *Tractatus* mention no author for the work because they did not know one. Perhaps, just perhaps, these two authors had qualms about attaching "Josephus" qua author to such an overtly Christian, Latin text.

In any case, Isidore of Seville (d. 636), whom Pollard also discusses, also does not cite *De excidio* as a work of Josephus, but only as the *Historia*. This is remarkable if, while Isidore uses *De excidio* throughout Books 9–20 of his *Etymologies*, he did not have access to the Latin *War* and Latin *Antiquities*.[70] The great encyclopedist knew who Josephus was – he cites him as an authority in Book 9 of his *Etymologies* (9.2.35).[71] So why would he not mention Josephus when sourcing *De excidio*? Perhaps he had no notion that Josephus did pen

69 Pollard, "The *De Excidio*," 65.

70 Pollard, "The *De Excidio*," 85. However, according to Paul Merritt Bassett, Isidore did, in fact, know Josephus' *Antiquities*, or at least a tradition associated with them (see 1.2.70), as evidenced by details in his *Chronicon* 15–17; see his "The Use of History in the *Chronicon* of Isidore of Seville," *History & Theory* 15 (1976): 278–292, 280 n. 12. See Hilliard's essay for a fuller treatment of Adomnán and Isidore.

71 See Stephen A. Barney, W. J. Lewis, J. A. Beach, and Oliver Berghof, with Muriel Hall, eds. *The* Etymologies *of Isidore of Seville* (Cambridge: 2006), 193. Note, however, that Isidore does not always cite his sources, even his most important (and/or Christian) ones (14).

or could have penned such a work. And perhaps he was joined by many other ancient readers in this. Whether or not it qualifies as 'glaring,' it is certainly a notable omission among the later authors whom Pollard surveys as having referenced *De excidio* that many do not name an author, beginning with Julian of Toledo (d. 690), though neither does he name the work.[72]

At the very least, I hope that I have shown that there is another viable way to understand the apparent attribution of *De excidio* to Josephus in the early centuries after its writing. This might mean that certain early readers thought that Josephus penned the work. But I think it more likely that early readers could refer to "Josephus" as the inspiration of *De excidio* without imagining him as its author per se. The qualifications of authorship and the traditionary machinations of Greek-to-Latin translation and Jewish-to-Christian transmission do not allow for a crystal-clear picture. And clearly some early readers recognized *De excidio* as a "rose among thorns," as it were, a sanitized Christian iteration of Josephus' "Jewish" narrative, hence the attribution to "Hegesippus" and the identification of Ambrose as translator.

For these reasons, and more, I think that scholars can benefit from marking a distinction between the reception and use of Latin Josephus translations proper and that of *De excidio*. And I think that usually they do. I certainly consider this a strength of the recent article by Theofili Kampianaki, who conceptually separates the Latin translations of the *War* and *Antiquities* as they were met by medieval readers from "intermediary sources that contained Josephan material," among which she includes Eusebius' *Historia Ecclesiastica* in the Greek East and Rufinus' translation thereof, and *De excidio*, in the Latin West.[73] This separation allows Kampianaki to nuance her treatment of the reception of Josephus' legacy and situate how *De excidio* was variously deployed therein while still treating the comprehensively understood 'Latin Josephus tradition', alongside the Greek Josephus tradition, as a whole.

Even if Ps-Hegesippus was a confusion-causing component of the larger Latin Josephus legacy, modern scholars need not be confused. We can readily recognize the widespread distinctive features that distinguish *De excidio* from the Latin *War*. And, if we are of a mind to, we can also give early readers and

72 See Pollard, "The *De Excidio*," 86–98, eventually asking of the Carolingian era: "What could have motivated the distinction between Josephus proper and the so-called Hegesippus?" (98). A different question could be: 'what motivated the conflation of the two in the first place?' or even 'did such a conflation ever truly exist?'

73 Theofili Kampianaki, "Perceptions of Flavius Josephus in the Medieval Greek and Latin Literary Traditions," *Greek, Roman, and Byzantine Studies* 60 (2020): 290–316, at 292.

copyists the benefit of the doubt when assessing their understanding of *De excidio*. Maybe pre-modern readers sometimes (or often) mistook the work for something that Josephus wrote. But maybe the attribution of the work to 'Josephus' can simply mean more, or less, or even something different, than modern scholars have been wont to imagine.

CHAPTER 3

Flavius Josephus: A Carolingian Church Father?

Richard M. Pollard

In 794, a great congregation and council took place at Frankfurt, under the stern but benevolent eye of Charlemagne himself.[1] This council, made up of an impressive number of bishops, abbots, as well as secular worthies and papal legates convened to discuss matters ecclesiastical and temporal. It would be one of many Carolingian councils that met with the goal of reforming and correcting the Frankish realm, to make it more pleasing to God, and to ensure the salvation of its inhabitants. At Frankfurt, an important part of the agenda was a condemnation of the Adoptionist heresy that was supposedly flourishing in Spain, where the Franks had recently been campaigning. As part of their arguments against Elipandus of Toledo and Felix of Urgell, the council invoked the so-called Church fathers, here as the "holy fathers," again and again as irrefutable, respected authorities who upheld the Frankish position. In a synodical letter, for example, the prelates castigated the heretical novelties of the Spanish bishops, and advised them that:

> It is sufficient for you to follow in the footsteps of the holy fathers and to hold their words with firm faith. For these [fathers] of ours … stood forth as instructors in the faith and directors toward [eternal] life. Their wisdom, imbued with the spirit of God, is found inscribed in their books and their most holy lives shine with deserved miracles, [while] their souls

1 We thank Yves Gingras, Josh Timmermann, Faith Wallis, Evina Steinová, Michael Moore, Marios Costambeys, Jesse Keskiaho, and Lydia Philpott, as well as the (other) members of the audience of the various presentations noted below, and finally the anonymous reviewers for their inspiration and assistance. Earlier versions of this research were presented at the *Networks of Manuscripts, Networks of Texts* (ING Huygens) conference in October 2020; at the International Medieval Congress in Leeds in July 2021, 2020, and 2017; at the International Congress on Medieval Studies in Kalamazoo in May 2019; at the Jean-Marie Fecteau colloquium at UQAM in March 2018; and finally at the McGill Medievalists Seminar Series in February 2018. This essay presents an abridged and early version of the work that will appear as *Josephus and the Church Fathers in the Early Middle Ages: How Wide Is the Canon?* (Bloomsbury). A fuller summary of this work has already been published as Richard Matthew Pollard and Anne-Gaëlle Weber, "Le canon des Pères à l'époque carolingienne et la place de Flavius Josèphe," *Revue d'Études Augustiniennes et Patristiques* 67, no. 2 (2021): 275–318.

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> reign in heaven with God and the son of God … because of their great pious labours.[2]

It would be easy to find similar examples of the high praise and important role given to the Church fathers by the Carolingians. To offer only one, the 845 council of Meaux insisted that "in expounding or preaching the divine scriptures, everyone is to follow the positions of the most proven, saintly, and catholic fathers, in whose writings … the truth of faith does not waver."[3] In sum, then, it is hardly controversial to claim that the Church fathers were the foundation for the massive Carolingian *renovatio* (or Renaissance) that, during Charlemagne's reign and those of his successors, saw the *correctio* of sacred texts, of clerical education and behavior, as well as of public morals and religiosity.[4]

This last point may be obvious to some, but the answer to another question may not be: who *exactly* were these Church fathers, upon whom the Carolingians relied so much? Ask any medievalist today whether they know who the Church fathers were, and they will answer "Why of course: Augustine, Jerome, Gregory the Great, Ambrose."[5] If you ask for more, they may add a few more names before trailing off uncertainly. Even a more adamant answer would have been little help, however, since whatever modern definitions exist cannot simply be assumed for the early Middle Ages. Surprisingly little work has been done in fact to determine exactly who comprised the Church fathers in the early Middle Ages and during the Carolingian period in particular. Michael Moore has recently underlined how the Carolingians worked to

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2 Albert Werminghoff, ed. "Concilium Francofurtense 794," in MGH Con., vol. 2.1 (Hanover and Leipzig: 1906), 156.

3 Wilfried Hartmann, ed. "Concilium Meldense-Parisiense," in MGH Con., vol. 3 (Hanover: 1984), 101, c. 34.

4 On this, see (among others): Rosamond McKitterick, *The Frankish Church and the Carolingian Reforms, 789–895*, Royal Historical Society Studies in History Series 2 (London: 1977); Rosamond McKitterick, *Carolingian Culture: Emulation and Innovation* (Cambridge: 1994); John J. Contreni, "The Carolingian Renaissance: Education and Literary Culture," in *The New Cambridge Medieval History*, ed. Rosamond McKitterick, vol. 2 (Cambridge: 1995), 709–57; Philippe Depreux, "Ambitions et limites des réformes culturelles à l'époque carolingienne," *Revue historique* 623, no. 3 (2002): 721–53; Rosamond McKitterick, "The Carolingian Renaissance of Culture and Learning," in *Charlemagne: Empire and Society*, ed. Joanna Story (Manchester: 2005), 151–66; Rolf Große and Michel Sot, eds. *Charlemagne: Les temps, les espaces, les hommes: Construction et déconstruction d'un règne*, Collection Haut Moyen Âge 34 (Turnhout: 2018).

5 A good, representative example of limited, and anachronistic thinking on the subject is Otto Bardenhewer, *Patrology: The Lives and Works of the Fathers of the Church*, trans. Thomas J. Shahan (Freiburg and St. Louis: 1908), 1–3.

define the patristic canon and to integrate this into the Carolingian legislative program, but he does not venture to specify who exactly the fathers were to Alcuin, Theodulf, and the like.[6] More notable in this respect is the work of Bernice Kaczynski. In an important article that partially inspired my own study here, Kaczynski used manuscript evidence from Reichenau and St. Gall to offer a case-study of how the Carolingians gave a recognizable shape to a previously jumbled patristic legacy.[7] Even here, though, Kaczynski focuses on the most important figures amongst the fathers, particularly Jerome and Augustine, and their respective place at the top of the patristic pyramid of authority under the Carolingians.

1 Josephus' Early Reputation: A Respected Authority, Even a "Father"?

The question of who the Church fathers were is more pertinent to a collection about Flavius Josephus than it would seem at first. As the readers of this volume will already know, Josephus enjoyed a wide circulation and influence during Late Antiquity and through the early Middle Ages. Already by the 4th century, he came to be recommended by important figures such as Eusebius of Caesarea and Jerome. The former remarked Josephus' laudable agreement with Scripture and praised him as "the illustrious historian of the Hebrews."[8] Eusebius furthermore cited the infamous *Testimonium Flavianum* in his *Historia Ecclesiastica*. This is a part of Josephus' *Antiquities* (18.63–64)

6 Michael Edward Moore, "The Ancient Fathers: Christian Antiquity, Patristics and Frankish Canon Law," *Millennium-Jahrbuch* 7 (2010): 293–342; Michael Edward Moore, "Carolingian Bishops and Christian Antiquity: Distance from the Past, Canon-Formation, and Imperial Power," in *Learned Antiquity: Scholarship and Society in the Near East, the Greco-Roman World, and the Early Medieval West*, eds. A. A. MacDonald, Michael W. Twomey, and G. J. Reinink, Groningen Studies in Cultural Change 5 (Leuven; Dudley, MA: 2003), 175–84.

7 Bernice Martha Kaczynski, "The Authority of the Fathers: Patristic Texts in Early Medieval Libraries and Scriptoria," *The Journal of Medieval Latin* 16 (2006): 1–27. Cf. also Bernice Martha Kaczynski, "Reading the Church Fathers: Notker the Stammerer's 'Notatio de Illustribus Viris,'" *The Journal of Medieval Latin* 17 (2007): 401–12; Bernice Martha Kaczynski, "Bede's Commentaries on Luke and Mark and the Formation of a Patristic Canon," in *Anglo-Latin and Its Heritage*, eds. S. Echard and G.R. Wieland, (Publications of the Journal of Medieval Latin) 4 (Turnhout: 2001), 17–26.

8 Eusebius Caesariensis, *Historia Ecclesiastica*, in *Eusebius Werke*, ed. Theodor Mommsen, trans. Rufinus, vol. 2.1, Die Griechischen Christlichen Schriftsteller 45 (Leipzig: 1903), I.v.3 (for *inlustris Hebraeorum historiografus*). For Josephus' concordance with Scripture, see Eusebius Caesariensis, "*Historia Ecclesiastica*," 127 and 131, II.x.2 and II.x.10.

where Jesus is approvingly mentioned, and even called "the Messiah."[9] Besides this overt praise, Eusebius engaged in the sincerest flattery of imitating the providential perspective of Josephus' history.[10] All this would continue to resonate in the West through Rufinus' Latin adaptation of Eusebius' *Historia Ecclesiastica*.[11] Rufinus' rival, Jerome, was also a proponent of the Jewish historian. As Paul Hilliard notes in his chapter, Jerome included Josephus prominently in his *De viris illustribus*, while in his correspondence he called Josephus one of the "*doctissimi Judaeorum*," or again the "*Graecus Livius*."[12] Jerome also recommended many times that Josephus be read to supplement the Biblical account. For example, Josephus was to be consulted concerning the Temple, since he was part of the priesthood, alive when the Temple still stood, and had seen it with his own eyes.[13] Given this praise, it is no surprise that by the 6th century, Josephus' *Jewish War* was available in two Latin translations, one literal, another a thorough reworking. It was at this time that Cassiodorus commissioned the translation of the *Antiquities* and *Against Apion* into Latin by his "friends."[14] Such a massive undertaking was clearly motivated by Cassiodorus' abundant respect for the Jewish historian. In his *Institutions*, Cassiodorus echoes Jerome in calling him "almost a second Livy" and includes Josephus in his section about "Christian historians."[15] More significantly for our purposes

9 Eusebius Caesariensis, *Historia Ecclesiastica*, 79–81, 1.xi.7. The bibliography on the *Testimonium Flavianum* is immense; see Alice Whealey, *Josephus on Jesus: The Testimonium Flavianum Controversy from Late Antiquity to Modern Times* (New York: 2003); Alice Whealey, "The Testimonium Flavianum," in *A Companion to Josephus*, 345–55.

10 Robert M. Grant, *Eusebius as Church Historian* (Oxford: 1980), 41, etc.

11 Sébastien Morlet and Laetitia Ciccolini, "La version latine de l'Histoire ecclésiastique," in *Eusèbe de Césarée, Histoire ecclésiastique*, eds. Sébastien Morlet and Lorenzo Perrone, vol. 1.1 (Paris: 2012), 243–66.

12 Hieronymus, *Hieronymus liber De viris inlustribus*, ed. Ernest C. Richardson, Texte und Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der altchristlichen Literatur 14 (Leipzig: 1896), 15–16, c. 13; Hieronymus, *On Illustrious Men*, trans. Thomas Halton, The Fathers of the Church 100 (Washington, D.C.: 2010), 28–30. For *vir doctissimus*: Hieronymus, *Sancti Eusebii Hieronymi Epistulae*, ed. Isidorus Hilberg, CSEL 54 (Vienna: 1910), 241.17, *Ep*. 29.7. For *Graecus Livius*: Hieronymus, *Epistulae*, 200.8, *Ep*. 22.35.

13 Hieronymus, *Epistulae*, 597–98, *Ep*. 64.10. On Jerome's use of Josephus, see Heinz Schreckenberg, *Die Flavius-Josephus-Tradition in Antike und Mittelalter*, 93–94.

14 Cassiodorus, *Cassiodori Senatoris Institutiones*, ed. R.G.B. Mynors (Oxford: 1937), 55, 1. xvii.1; Cassiodorus, *Institutions of Divine and Secular Learning; On the Soul*, ed. Mark Vessey, trans. James Halporn, (Translated Texts for Historians) 42 (Liverpool: 2004), 149. Given a recent study of the Milan papyrus of Cassiodorus' translation, it would now seem that this work was initiated, if not wholly completed, in Constantinople, rather than Vivarium: Carlo Mazzucchi, "Natura e storia del Giuseppe Flavio ambrosiano," *Miscellanea Graecolatina* 4 (2017): 271–318.

15 See the note above.

here, Cassiodorus may have thought of Josephus as a "father." In his *Explanation on the Psalms* for 132, namely of the garment mentioned therein, he writes the following: "Our *fathers* have accordingly spoken at length in the spiritual sense about this garment." He immediately elaborates with the following: "Josephus, in the third book of his *Antiquities*, has revealed." Cassiodorus, in short, implies that Josephus belongs to the category of "father."[16]

Given this praise by Eusebius, Jerome, and Cassiodorus, it is hardly shocking that Josephus became particularly important during the 8th and 9th centuries: he is cited by name dozens of times by Bede and hundreds of times by Carolingian scholars such as Hrabanus Maurus.[17] Already around 700, the Frankish author Defensor of Ligugé gave Josephus a prominent place amongst weighty Christian authorities in his *Liber Scintillarum*.[18] This text is a spiritual/moral manual broken down by theme (such as charity, patience, love of God, humility), which seems destined for a monastic audience. Each chapter is, in effect, a series of short extracts drawn from the Bible and a variety of patristic texts, each carefully introduced by name. Here we find Josephus quoted a number of times, rubbing shoulders with esteemed figures such as Jerome, Augustine, and Gregory the Great. Other non-Christian authors have furthermore been excluded. Thus, in what would become a very popular work in its own right during the Carolingian period, Josephus is considered a moral authority, one respectable enough to keep company with Holy Scripture and the Church fathers. Of course, we know that around the same time, Bede held Josephus in a similar high regard: he cites Josephus as an authority in the same breath as Augustine and Jerome;[19] or, in his commentary on Samuel, Bede puzzles over the lengths of the reigns of kings Joshua, Samuel, and Saul, before

16 Cassiodorus, *Expositio Psalmorum*, ed. M. Adriaen, CCSL 98 (Turnhout: 1958), 1208, Ps. 132.2: "De hac igitur ueste patres nostri spiritaliter et copiosa dixerunt. Nam Iosephus in libro tertio antiquitatum titulo octauo, magnarum rerum exinde sacramenta patefecit: probans quatuor colores earum, id est, byssum, purpuram, hyacinthum et coccum, elementa mundi rationabiliter indicasse. Hieronymus etiam ad Fabiolam scribens et de hac quoque re non destitit esse proficuus;" Cassiodorus, *Explanation of the Psalms*, trans. P.G. Walsh, vol. 3, Ancient Christian Writers (New York: 1990), 335.

17 Richard Matthew Pollard, "Reading Josephus at Vivarium? Annotations and Exegesis in Early Copies of the *Antiquities*," *Florilegium* 30 (2013): 133.

18 Defensor, *Livre d'étincelles*, ed. Henri Rochais, Sources chrétiennes 77, 86 (Paris: 1961); Henri Rochais, "Defensoriana," *Sacris Erudiri* 9 (1957): 199–264; cf. however the suspicions of "Defensor" by Felice Lifshitz, *Religious Women in Early Carolingian Francia: A Study of Manuscript Transmission and Monastic Culture* (Oxford: 2014), 57, who nonetheless sees the work as c. 700.

19 Bede, "Letter to Plegwine," in *Bede, The Reckoning of Time*, trans. Faith Wallis, Translated Texts for Historians (Liverpool: 1999), 414, c. 16.

finally saying that to find the solution, "We ought to mull over the writings of Josephus, for we can find no one – besides Divine Scripture – with more authority on these matters."[20]

Bede's frequent use, and high opinion of Josephus led Heinz Schreckenberg to suggest that from Bede onwards, "Josephus often achieves almost the authority of a church father."[21] Schreckenberg was an acknowledged expert on Josephus' reception, but this suggestion is a provocative one, especially if we couple it with Cassiodorus' revealing statement above. Could the ancient Jewish historian Flavius Josephus *really* have been even a *de facto* father of the Church for the Carolingians, as Schreckenberg implied? This is a question that has puzzled me for years, and this chapter presents a summary of my findings so far. The reason that the question took so long to answer, even in a preliminary form, is that it lies at the intersection of two relatively unexplored domains. First, there is the issue of Josephus' early medieval reception and influence, a topic that has hitherto been examined in only the most perfunctory fashion.[22] Before this volume, we knew that Josephus was important and often used by early medieval authors, but precisely how, in what circumstances, and with what level of respect are all open to question, and therefore to impressionistic claims such as those of Schreckenberg. Second, to determine whether Josephus could have been a Church father, we need to know something about who were considered as the Church fathers in the early Middle Ages. As I noted above, this is another topic that has been scarcely explored as well. If we are to truly understand Josephus' authority and reputation in early medieval intellectual culture, it seems to me absolutely crucial to get an idea of which authors formed the canon of highest authorities, and which were more peripheral, and where Josephus stands alongside them.

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20 Beda, *In primam partem Samuhelis*, ed. David Hurst, CCSL 119 (Turnhout: 1962), 69.

21 Heinz Schreckenberg, "The Works of Josephus and the Early Christian Church," in *Josephus, Judaism, and Christianity*, eds. Louis H Feldman and Gōhei Hata (Leiden: 1987), 319; cf. Schreckenberg, *Die Flavius-Josephus-Tradition in Antike und Mittelalter*, 107.

22 To cite only my own imperfect and superficial work: Richard Matthew Pollard, "The Latin Josephus Project (latinjosephus.org)," 2013–2020; Jean-Félix Aubé-Pronce and Richard Matthew Pollard, "Annotating Flavius Josephus in the Early Middle Ages: Early Impressions from Thousands of Notes," *Medievalia et Humanistica* 46 (2021), 167–200; Richard Matthew Pollard, "Flavius Josephus: The Most Influential Classical Historian of the Early Middle Ages," in *Writing the Early Medieval West: Studies in Honour of Rosamond Mckitterick*, eds. Elina Screen and Charles West (Cambridge: 2018), 15–32; Richard Matthew Pollard, "The *De Excidio* of 'Hegesippus' and the Reception of Josephus in the Early Middle Ages," *Viator* 46, no. 2 (2015): 65–100; Pollard, "Reading Josephus at Vivarium?".

As such, this chapter offers preliminary answers to these interrelated questions. It uses quantitative information to address the problem, assessing the number of manuscripts and citations that each author could claim in the early medieval period. I also use some novel techniques borrowed from the history of science to offer additional insight, particularly the study of co-citations, that is, where authors are mentioned in the same breath, such as when Bede mentioned Josephus and Augustine together. My chapter will offer some highlights of this research that will appear more fully elsewhere. In the end, I show that even if Josephus was not exactly a Church father amongst the Carolingians, his authority could sometimes exceed that of very lofty figures, such as Bede. Furthermore, my work offers what I hope is an interesting, and in many ways surprising, new perspective on who constituted "the Church fathers" in the Carolingian period.

2 Defining a "Church Father"

Before turning to the question of who the Church fathers were for the Carolingians, it seems essential to answer an even more basic question: what *is* a Church father, anyway? The term has a long history before the Middle Ages, in fact.[23] Initially, the word "fathers" was applied in early Christianity to describe Biblical figures, in particular the apostles. Gradually the term "father" was applied to bishops, who were considered to be the successors of the apostles. The designation of bishops as *patres* was first of all associated with their activity at councils. For example, those who agreed with the decisions of the council of Nicaea in 325, and its famous anti-Arian creed, spoke reverently of the 318 "fathers" who had attended. But the pro-Nicene camp was also forced to defend the Creed there produced against critics, and it is here that we see the birth of "arguments from the fathers," that is, arguments based on the authority of older, respected Christian figures, who were not necessarily bishops. Athanasius of Alexandria, for example, defended the seemingly strange, novel language of the Creed by noting that similar terminology had been used by earlier Christian "fathers" before the council, from whom he assembles a

23 For what follows, see Johannes Quasten, *Patrology*, vol. 1 (Westminster, Md.: 1986); Bardenhewer, *Patrology*, 1–3; Thomas Graumann, "The Conduct of Theology and the 'Fathers' of the Church," in *A Companion to Late Antiquity*, ed. Philip Rousseau (Oxford, UK: 2009), 539–55; François Dolbeau, "La formation du Canon des Pères, du IVe au VIe siècle," in *Les réceptions des Pères de l'Église au Moyen Âge*, eds. Rainer Berndt and Michel Fédou, vol. 1, Archa verbi. Subsidia 10 (Münster: 2013), 17–39.

series of extracts: Theognostus, Dionysius of Alexandria, Dionysius of Rome, and Origen.[24] The authority produced by a *consensus* of 318 bishops ("fathers") was therefore underlined by a consensus of respected earlier Christian writers, also now called "fathers," only two of whom had been bishops. Their testimony helped to show that Nicaea was founded in an unbroken tradition of truth, something that was essential in the Church, for since Irenaeus, novelty had been something associated with heretics.[25] However, it was one of Athanasius' contemporaries, namely Eusebius of Caesarea, who is credited with actually coining the term "Church fathers," worthy Christian authorities whose works could act as a bulwark against heretical novelty.[26]

By the 5th century, the extra-conciliar writings of so-called "Church fathers" in fact became an important element within the ecumenical councils themselves.[27] Both the council of Ephesus in 431, and the council of Chalcedon in 451, for example, had at their hearts extensive *florilegia* of respected Church figures, identified as "the most holy and sacred fathers, bishops and various martyrs."[28] By the 6th century, such *florilegia* were essential: the arguments and authority of the second ecumenical council of Constantinople (553), for example, came to rest almost entirely on the extra-conciliar works of the fathers, the loftiest of whom (such as Cyril of Alexandria) were utterly beyond reproach.[29]

The West was slightly behind in these developments. Augustine had some hesitations about arguments based on authorities outside Scripture, but the popularity of these arguments was such that even Augustine seems to have softened his position later on in his life.[30] In his works against Julian, the Pelagian heretic, Augustine frequently invokes the *patres ecclesiae* or the

24 Athanasius Alexandrinus, "De decretis," in *A Select Library of Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers of the Christian Church*, eds. Philip Schaff, Henry Wace, and Archibald Robertson, vol. 4 (New York: 1892), 166–69, c. 6.

25 Irenaeus (*Adv. Haeres.* 3.1–5), cited by Graumann, "The Conduct of Theology and the 'Fathers' of the Church," 547.

26 See Eusebius Caesariensis, "Contra Marcellum," in *Eusebius Werke*, vol. 4, Die Griechischen Christlichen Schriftsteller 14 (Leipzig: 1906), 18.11, 1.iv.3.

27 Graumann, "The Conduct of Theology and the 'Fathers' of the Church"; Patrick Terrell Gray, "'The Select Fathers': Canonizing the Patristic Past," *Studia Patristica* 23 (1989): 21–36.

28 Richard Price and Michael Gaddis, eds. and trans., *The Acts of the Council of Chalcedon* (Liverpool: 2005), 301, 1.916.

29 Gray, "The Select Fathers," 31.

30 Augustine, "On Baptism," in *A Select Library of the Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers of the Christian Church: St. Augustine: The Writings against the Manichæans, and against the Donatists* (New York: 1887), 427, 11.iii.4; Augustinus, "*Sermo* 162C," in *Vingt-six sermons au peuple d'Afrique*, ed. François Dolbeau, Collection des Études Augustiniennes. Antiquité 147 (Paris: 1996), 45–56.

doctores ecclesiae.[31] For Augustine, it is clear that the *consensus* of worthy Christian writers on a particular point is a strong indicator of truth, one that he frequently uses to refute Julian. In doing this, Augustine even offers a few short lists that enumerate some of these fathers (or doctors): he includes Cyprian, Hilary, John Chrysostom, Ambrose, and Jerome, amongst others. Soon after Augustine, Vincent of Lérins offered some similar thoughts on the question of the Church fathers: they are those who "stand forth [as] acknowledged and approved authorities" whose opinions, gathered together, are crucial for settling scriptural and doctrinal disagreements.[32]

The councils, Augustine, and Vincent established that the fathers were very important for guaranteeing Christian truth, and these views would have been available to the Carolingians. We do not find amongst these early texts, however, a definitive or concordant listing of who these fathers were. In the early 6th century, however, a crafty forger in southern Gaul created a document that aimed to make matters more explicit and concrete. This text is the infamous Ps. Gelasian list known as the *De libris recipiendis*.[33] It purports to be a decree of Pope Gelasius I of the late 5th century, and it achieved considerable popularity thereafter. The Ps. Gelasius offers a reasonably exact list of what authors and texts are to be officially recognized by the Church and includes a tally of 12 "holy fathers" whose works are to be regarded as particularly authoritative. These comprise six Latin and six Greek figures: Cyprian, Gregory Nazianzenus, Basil of Cappadocia, Athanasius, John Chrysostom, Theophilus of Alexandria, Cyril of Alexandria, Hilary of Poitiers, Ambrose, Augustine, Jerome, and Prosper of Aquitaine. Josephus, alas, is nowhere to be found here, nor in any of the other lists I have mentioned hitherto.

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31 Éric Rebillard, "A New Style of Argument in Christian Polemic: Augustine and the Use of Patristic Citations," *Journal of Early Christian Studies* 8, no. 4 (2000): 559–78; Dolbeau, "La formation du Canon," 27–29; Karla Pollmann, "Christianity and Authority in Late Antiquity: The Transformation of the Concept of Auctoritas," in *Being Christian in Late Antiquity*, eds. Carol Harrison, Caroline Humfress, and Isabella Sandwell (Oxford: 2014), 166–67.

32 Dolbeau, "La formation du Canon," 30–31; Vincentius Lerinensis, *The Commonitorium of Vincentius of Lerins*, ed. Reginald Stewart Moxon (Cambridge: 1915), 7–11, ch. 2.2–3. I admit that this work had limited circulation, but it seems at least to reflect contemporary thinking on the topic: Joseph de Ghellinck, *Patristique et Moyen Age: Études d'histoire littéraire et doctrinale* (Gembloux; Bruxelles; Paris: 1947), 199, 252, etc.

33 Ernst von Dobschütz, ed. *Das Decretum Gelasianum de libris recipiendis et non recipiendis*, Texte und Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der altchristlichen Literatur 38 (Leipzig: 1912). See also Ghellinck, *Patristique et Moyen Age*, 255–58.

3 Pre-Carolingian Manuscript Circulation of Josephus and the "Fathers"

The Carolingians inherited the Ps. Gelasius, as well as the somewhat contradictory and incomplete listings of fathers found in the councils, in Augustine, and elsewhere. Before we turn to their own ideas about who the Church fathers were, however, I want to briefly consider the circulation of manuscripts of the fathers in the pre-Carolingian period. For where the earlier lists offer very suggestive, explicit evidence about who was considered a father, the circulation of their texts would also, it seems to me, reflect this status in an implicit way. That is to say, if an author was considered an important authority, a father, we would expect there to be a fair number of copies of his works in circulation.

Using the *Codices Latini Antiquiores*, a comprehensive listing of all pre-Carolingian and early Carolingian manuscripts, I have managed to compile some statistics on the number of surviving manuscripts of various Christian authors.[34] For the pre-Carolingian period, you can see a summary of the results in table 3.1. There, Augustine is by far the best-represented author: almost seven percent of all pre-Carolingian Latin manuscripts contain a work by Augustine. The African bishop is followed by Jerome and Gregory. The last of these was too late to have been mentioned by the councils or by the Ps. Gelasius, which suggests that the category of "father" was still mutable at this point. This is further implied by the popularity of Isidore of Seville, who bests even the venerable St. Ambrose in terms of manuscripts, even though the latter was approved by the Ps. Gelasius and the ecumenical councils. Rounding out the top figures are two older authors, Hilary and Cyprian, as well as a newer one, Caesarius of Arles. Josephus is somewhat further down the list, with five manuscript witnesses, but this respectable total

34 E.A. Lowe, *Codices Latini Antiquiores: A Palaeographical Guide to Latin Manuscripts Prior to the Ninth Century*, 12 vols. (Oxford: 1934–1971) (= CLA). To explain my methods, more fully, I have used the index found in the CLA supplement to count the number of manuscripts that contain at least one work by a given author. MSS with multiple works by a given author have only been counted once. I have included pseudonymous works in these counts, because, as I explain, these were clearly felt to be part of a given author's oeuvre. The dates were gathered from the CLA spreadsheet generated by the "Earlier Latin Manuscripts" project at Galway (https://elmss.nuigalway.ie/). The cut-off for pre-Carolingian was set at c. 765: therefore, a CLA dating of "saec. VIII" was considered pre-Carolingian, and likewise "saec. VIII^{med}," but anything "saec. VIII^{2}" and later in the CLA has been considered "early Carolingian."

TABLE 3.1 Pre-Carolingian manuscripts in the CLA

Author	Pre-Car. MSS in CLA (out of 1153)
Augustine	80[a]
Jerome	51
Gregory the Great	50[b]
Isidore	36
Ambrose[c]	24
Hilary	15
Caesarius	14
Cyprian	12
Origen	11
Cassiodorus	7
Cassian	7
Eucherius	7
Leo	7
Chrysostom	6
Basil	6
Orosius	5
Josephus	5
Lactantius	5
Eusebius	4
Sedulius	4
Rufinus	4
Bede	3
Ephraem	3
Prosper	3
Boethius	3
[...]	
Fulgentius	2
[...]	
Athanasius	1

a Augustine's count of 80 includes 76 of (Ps.)-Augustine and 4 of Eugippius' *Excerpta*.

b Gregory's count of 50 includes 47 of (Ps.)-Gregory, 1 of Lathcen's *Ecloga Gregorii*, and 2 of Paterius' *Testimonia*.

c Figures for Ambrose include those manuscripts listed in the CLA index under Ambrosiaster, since these texts generally circulated under the name of Ambrose.

puts him roughly at par with important Greek figures such as Chrysostom and Basil, and ahead of Latins such as Prosper and Fulgentius. It is clear, therefore, in terms of manuscript distribution at least, that the older lists of fathers had a limited impact on the success of Christian (and Jewish) authors. It is also clear that, at least in terms of numbers, the Carolingians would not have inherited a tidy ranking of fathers with Augustine, Jerome, Gregory, and Ambrose at the top.

A more interesting and significant way of looking at this data is to look at which figures appear most frequently together in manuscripts. Every medievalist knows that manuscript books are not just random compilations, but usually carefully considered collections that operate on some principal.[35] Now, if a certain author appears very frequently with a whole range of other others, he will seem to have possessed a wider, more ecumenical authority, because compilers were careful to seek out and include his texts (or excerpt them) on any given subject. That is to say, if Augustine or Isidore very often appear with all sorts of other ecclesiastical authors in a wide variety of different manuscripts, then this would seem to bolster their claim to being an important Church father. One principle of manuscript compilation – that like goes with like – can tell us something more about the possible identities of the Church fathers as well. If manuscript compilers implicitly grouped together authors whom they felt were fathers (as Augustine and the ecumenical councils recommended), the figures who were most often included in these compilations would seem to be the most central to the implicit concept of "Church father." For example, if either Origen or Josephus was very frequently grouped together with Augustine, Jerome, Gregory, who themselves were tightly grouped together and who are reasonably secure candidates as "fathers," then we would have some evidence that Origen and Josephus had patristic or quasi-patristic status.

To analyze how often particular ecclesiastical authors were grouped with one another, I created a small database using the information found in the *Codices Latini Antiquiores*. I was thereby able to tabulate how often each Christian author appeared with each other across all Latin manuscripts up

35 E.g. Jesse Keskiaho, *Dreams and Visions in the Early Middle Ages* (Cambridge: 2015), 18: "the grouping of texts in a manuscript may tell of the ways the nature of a certain text was understood"; Bernhard Bischoff, *Latin Palaeography: Antiquity and the Middle Ages* (Cambridge: 1990), 203–4; Kenneth B. Steinhauser, "Manuscripts," in *Augustine Through the Ages: An Encyclopedia*, eds. Allan Fitzgerald and John C. Cavadini (Grand Rapids: 1999), 528: "The compiler of an individual codex may consciously or unconsciously interpret a piece of literature by grouping it with other writings."

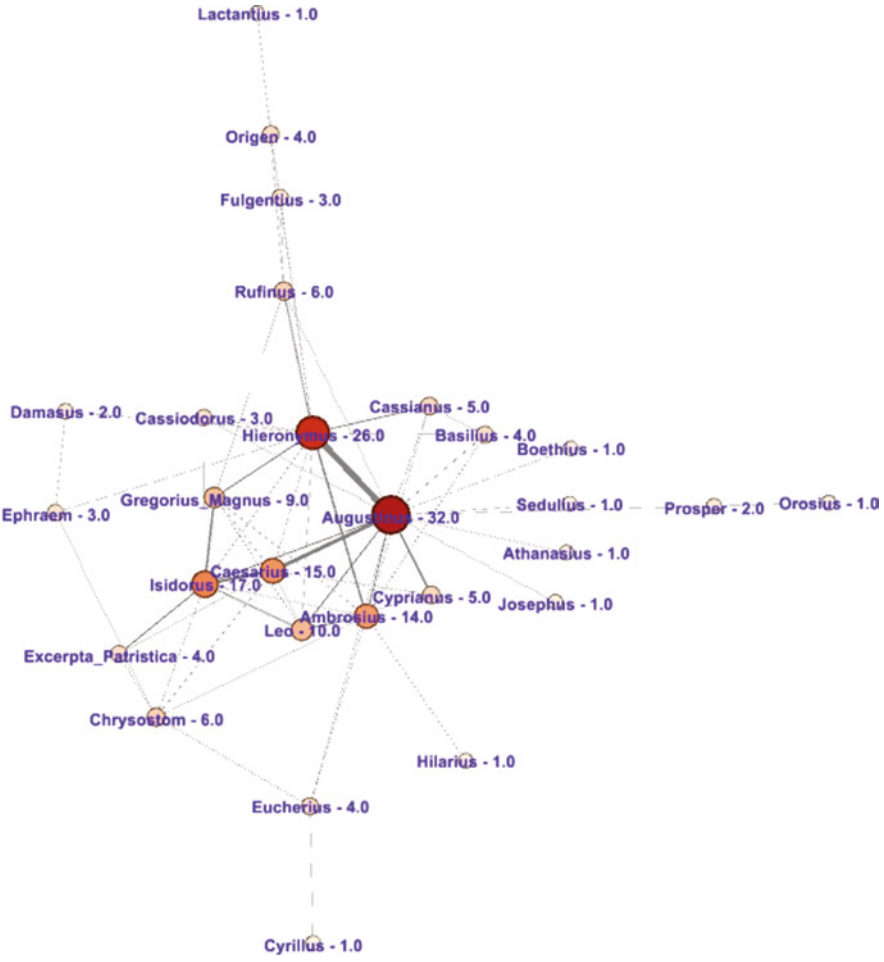

FIGURE 3.1 Co-appearance of authors in the CLA's pre-Carolingian manuscripts

to the mid-8th century. This information can be helpfully rendered as a network graph (Figure 3.1), produced using the program Gephi, where the most important figures immediately leap out.[36] Here, the size of each author's circular node is proportional to the number of links he has with others, that is, the number of times he appears in manuscripts with other authors. We can see that Augustine, Jerome, and to a much lesser extent, Isidore, were invoked on almost every question, subject, and genre, alongside almost every other figure

36 https://gephi.org/.

in the graph. Their central position here also suggests their centrality to the implicit concept of "Church father": the computer program used to generate this graph forces those figures with the most frequent and wide-ranging links into the center. Josephus, alas, has been pushed to the outer edge: he appears only once with another author on this graph, namely as an excerpt in a manuscript of Augustine. As we shall discuss below, it may be that the sheer size of Josephus' works prevented him from circulating with other authors. On the other hand, many of Augustine's longer works were excerpted so they could fit into manuscripts with the works of others, perhaps because his authority was felt to be so essential.

The graph underlines a point made earlier, namely that the Carolingians did not inherit a particularly tidy picture of who the Church fathers were. The Ps. Gelasius was clear, yes, but the ecumenical councils were somewhat discordant, while the manuscript record granted prominence and prestige to newer figures such as Isidore and Caesarius of Arles, who had never been mentioned by either the Ps. Gelasius or the councils. The next question is what the Carolingians themselves made of the question, whether explicitly, or implicitly.

4 Josephus and Carolingian Lists of the Church Fathers

If we want to know who the Church fathers were to the Carolingians, the first step would simply be to listen to who they said they were. So far, I have identified eleven explicit listings of Church fathers left to us by Carolingian writers, such as Alcuin, Smaragdus, and Agobard.[37] At the beginning of his *Adversus Felicem*, for example, Alcuin says:

> In this work I have tried to prove the truth of the Catholic faith from the most certain testimonies of the holy fathers (*sanctorum Patrum*), that is, blessed Jerome, and saint Augustine, Roman pope Gregory, bishop Hilary of Poitiers, also pope Leo I, and bishop Fulgentius, as well as bishop

37 The *explicit* lists of *patres* I have identified are as follows (giving mainly PL references, for the sake of simplicity): PL 101: 128A (Alcuin, *Adversus Felicem*); PL 101: 73B (Alcuin, *De processione Spiritus Sancti*); PL 101: 279C (Alcuin, *De Incarnatione Christi*); PL 101: 1322D (*Epist. Episcoporum Hispaniae*); PL 102: 13C (Smaragdus, *Collectiones epistolarum et evangeliorum*); PL 104: 241A–242A (Agobard, *Liber de dispensatione ecclesiasticarum rerum*); PL 107: 729A (Rabanus, *In Matt.*); PL 108: 1108C (Bishop Hunbert to Hrabanus); PL 109: 9C (Hrabanus, *In Regum.*); PL 119: 16A (Florus, *De expositione missae*); PL 125: 64B (Prudentius, letter on the ordination of Aeneas of Paris).

> Ambrose of Milan; but also blessed Cyril, a most doughty warrior against Nestorius; and also Peter bishop of Ravenna, and blessed priest Bede, and Gregory Nazianzenus, not to mention Isidore of Seville and Juvencus.

Such lists are quite useful, and it is easy enough to tabulate how often each author appears in these lists of "fathers," as can be seen in Figure 3.2. We note that Augustine is always listed, while Jerome, Ambrose, Gregory, Hilary, Isidore, and Fulgentius are almost always included, while Bede, a surprising addition, is found in almost half the lists. Unfortunately for Josephus' putative patristic status, and despite Cassiodorus' earlier implication, he is not mentioned even once amongst these lists. But this is not the end of the story.

The overly literal amongst us might leave the question here, saying that the Church fathers in the 9th century were just who the Carolingians said they were – neither more nor less. Yet these lists are problematic in various ways, particularly because they are not that numerous, and are often appended to particular works whose subject matter would favor particular authors over others. In short, they do not necessarily offer a complete picture of who the fathers were to the Carolingians. Instead, I think we need to turn from this explicit evidence to the implicit. After all, if you claim, explicitly, that your favorite authors are Augustine and Jerome, but then quote Josephus alongside them frequently, and put his books alongside theirs on your bookcase, and read him just as often

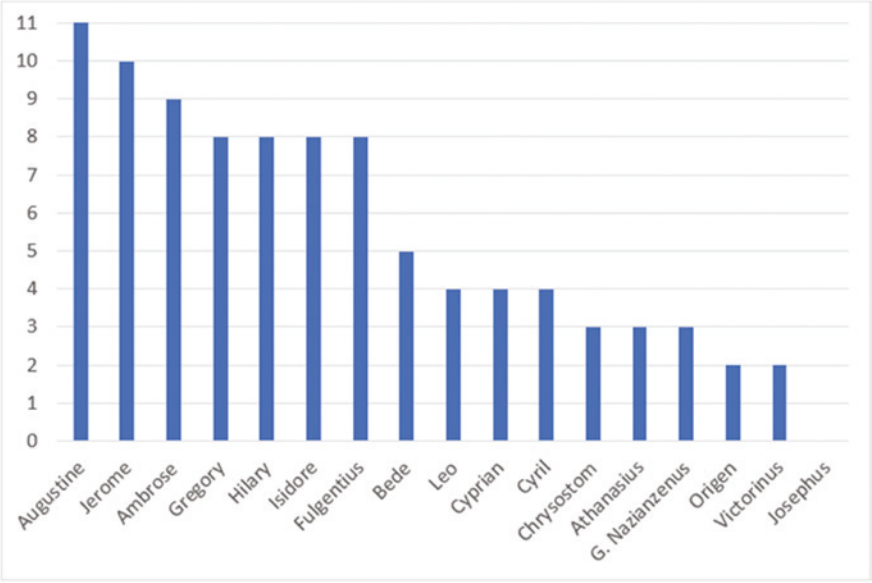

FIGURE 3.2 Frequency of various authors in Carolingian lists of "fathers"

as them, then it would seem to me that your explicit statement was not telling the whole truth. You are implicitly grouping Josephus with Augustine and Jerome. It may be useful to consider the definition of the "fathers" in the same, implicit way: if Josephus was treated like a Church father, perhaps he could have been one, at least in some unspoken way.

5 Carolingian Manuscript Circulation of Josephus and the "Fathers"

As I did above for the pre-Carolingian period, one way of charting the implicit category of "Church father" for the Carolingians is to look at the manuscript circulation of their works. In fact, it is possible to distinguish trends here by comparing three different periods: the pre-Carolingian manuscripts discussed above, the early Carolingian manuscripts,[38] and then the 9th-century manuscripts. The former two were catalogued by the *Codices Latini Antiquiores*, the last by Bernhard Bischoff's compressed complete catalogue of 9th-century manuscripts.[39] After a great deal of counting, the results I came up with were very interesting (Table 3.2).

Overall, the data substantiates the idea that the Carolingians took a greater interest in the fathers: where the pre-Carolingian period sees only 27 percent of manuscripts containing a patristic[40] text, for the early Carolingian period the total is more like 45 percent, before settling down to 36 percent in the 9th century (see Figure 3.3). In terms of the relative popularity of authors, we see some surprising changes as well. Augustine is very important across the

38 On distinguishing these two groups, see note 34 above.

39 Bernhard Bischoff, *Katalog der festländischen Handschriften des neunten Jahrhunderts*, ed. Birgit Ebersperger, 4 vols. (Wiesbaden: 1998–2017).

40 One might wonder how I can determine what a "patristic" text would be, at this stage in the argument. At the risk of making a slightly circular explanation, these totals are based on the manuscript counts for 36 different authors (including Josephus) who might potentially have been considered "fathers": Ambrosius, Athanasius, Augustinus, Basilius, Beda, Benedictus, Caesarius, Cassian, Cassiodorus, Chrysostom, Clemens, Cyprian, Cyril, Damasus, Ephrem, Eucherius, Eusebius, Fulgentius, Gregory Nazianzenus, Gregorius I, Gregory of Nyssa, Hieronymus, Hilarius, Isidorus, Josephus, Julianus Pomerius, Julian of Toledo, Lactantius, Leo, Origen, Orosius, Paulinus, Prosper, Rufinus, Tertullian, Theophilus. Pseudonymous works are included in the counts since they were clearly thought to belong to the corpus of a particular author and therefore were indistinguishable at the time from genuine works. It is true that some of the figures on the list may not *actually* be "fathers" (and some other figures could be omitted), but I would argue that this list must capture at least most of those thought of as "fathers." The relative increase and decrease over time, then, *roughly* approximates *overall* interest in patristics.

TABLE 3.2 Number of Manuscripts by Authors, CLA and Bischoff Catalogues

Author	CLA Pre-Carolingian (% of total)[a]	CLA E. Carolingian (% of total)	CLA overall	Bischoff MSS (excl. CLA items)	% of B. Total (i.e. / 7656)
Augustine	6.9%	6.4%	6.7%	613	8.0%
Jerome	4.4%	8.5%	5.3%	467	6.1%
Gregory	4.3%	10%	6.8%	392	5.1%
Bede	0.3%	2.9%	1.4%	356	4.6%
Isidore	3.1%	9.5%	5.9%	294	3.8%
Ambrose	2.1%	1.8%	2.0%	133	1.7%
Cassiodorus	0.6%	1.3%	0.9%	97	1.3%
Origen	1.0%	1.1%	1.0%	47	0.6%
Chrysostom	0.5%	1.0%	0.7%	43	0.6%
Rufinus	0.3%	0.1%	0.2%	38	0.5%
Benedict	0.1%	0.3%	0.2%	36	0.5%
Josephus[b]	0.4%	0.3%	0.4%	34	0.4%
Cassian	0.6%	1.1%	0.8%	34	0.4%
Prosper	0.3%	0.1%	0.2%	33	0.4%
Fulgentius	0.2%	0.2%	0.2%	33	0.4%
Eusebius	0.3%	0.9%	0.6%	30	0.4%
Orosius	0.4%	0.8%	0.6%	29	0.4%
Cyprian	1.0%	0.7%	0.9%	27	0.4%
Julian of Toledo	0.0%	0.2%	0.1%	24	0.3%
Hilary	1.3%	0.1%	0.8%	22	0.3%
Caesarius of Arles	1.2%	2.0%	1.6%	21	0.3%
Julian Pomerius	0.1%	0.1%	0.1%	21	0.3%
(...)					
Total Patristic MSS (36 authors)	27.8% (321)	45.1% (403)	35.4%	35.7% (2730)	

a Totals here are calculated based on the total number of items in the CLA, including the official supplement of 1971, but not the subsequent addenda published later by Virginia Brown and Bernhard Bischoff. The total figure is about 2047, not the official 1811, because some items are subdivided into lettered segments, e.g., 18a and 18b; this figure is based on the spreadsheet of

TABLE 3.2 Number of Manuscripts by Authors, CLA and Bischoff Catalogues (*cont.*)

CLA items generated by the "Earlier Latin Manuscripts" project at Galway (https://elmss.nuigalway.ie/). The pre-Carolingian category includes 1153 items, while the early Carolingian includes 894.

b Here I include manuscripts of the *Antiquities*, the *Jewish War*, but also of the *De excidio Hierosolymitano*. This last work was invariably attributed to Josephus up to 825, and afterwards more often to Ps. Hegesippus. Hence, for manuscripts 825 onwards, only those that attribute the text to Josephus are counted here. Cf. Pollard, "The *De Excidio* of 'Hegesippus' and the Reception of Josephus in the Early Middle Ages."

board, but particularly dominant in the 9th century, where fully eight percent (or one out of twelve) of all surviving manuscripts contain a work by him. We note furthermore the startling explosion of interest in the works of Gregory, Isidore, and Bede. The last two in fact come to rank amongst the most popular authors, displacing the great Ambrose (whose popularity seems much more limited in this period). It is clear, then, that in the Carolingian period, the rise of newer figures (such as Isidore), seen earlier, would continue, pushing aside very venerable fathers, at least in terms of the effective authority of manuscript numbers. Indeed, Josephus seems to grow markedly in prominence by this measure. His manuscript numbers increase from five and three in the pre-Carolingian and early Carolingian periods respectively to 34 in the 9th century. What is more, this gain also represents a larger share of the overall manuscript

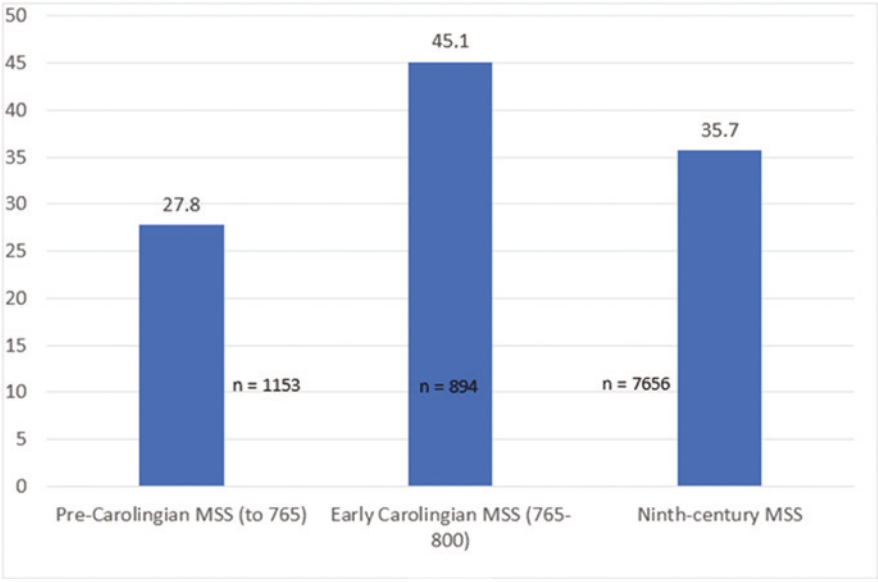

FIGURE 3.3 Percentage of manuscripts containing a patristic text

pie (0.39 percent vs. 0.44 percent): Carolingian scribes seem to have gone to almost as much trouble to recopy Josephus as they did Benedict of Nursia or Rufinus, and thereby produced more copies than they did of the distinguished fathers Cyprian or Hilary.

A more interesting and significant way of looking at this data is to look at which figures appear most frequently together in 9th-century manuscripts, as I did above for the pre-Carolingian period. As previously, I can present an exciting graph (Figure 3.4), produced using Gephi (as above), and which tabulates the co-appearance of various Christian authors across thousands of 9th-century manuscripts. Augustine is overwhelmingly dominant, being folded into composite manuscripts with nearly everyone else, on a range of subjects. Jerome follows Augustine closely. Much further behind are Isidore and Bede, who are nonetheless considerably more central than the next two prominent figures, Ambrose and Gregory. It is becoming clear, from the manuscript data at least, that we cannot talk about the "four fathers" – Augustine, Jerome, Gregory, Ambrose – for the Carolingians. Instead, the picture is more diffuse, as it was in the pre-Carolingian period: now, however, we have the "six fathers," adding not only Isidore as before, but also the venerable Bede.

Josephus does not fare particularly well by this last measure. It is true that there was a clear rise in interest in his works, yet in terms of co-appearances in manuscripts, we note he is entirely absent from the manuscript co-appearance graph, not being included even once with other Christian authorities. As I suggested above, it may be that Josephus' works were too large to include alongside others in a single manuscript. And yet larger works of Augustine could be excerpted or fragmented to fit alongside others. If no surviving codex attests to Josephus being excerpted and squeezed into a manuscript with someone else, it suggests that no one felt (or acknowledged) he was absolutely essential to a particular issue, a conclusion that severely damages the likelihood of his being a *pater ecclesiae*.

6 Was Josephus Mentioned in the Same Breath as the "Fathers?"

For reasons of space, we will not be able to consider the place of the various fathers in early medieval library catalogues, though Josephus' place in these is considered in the essays by Lake and Ward in this volume (and elsewhere by

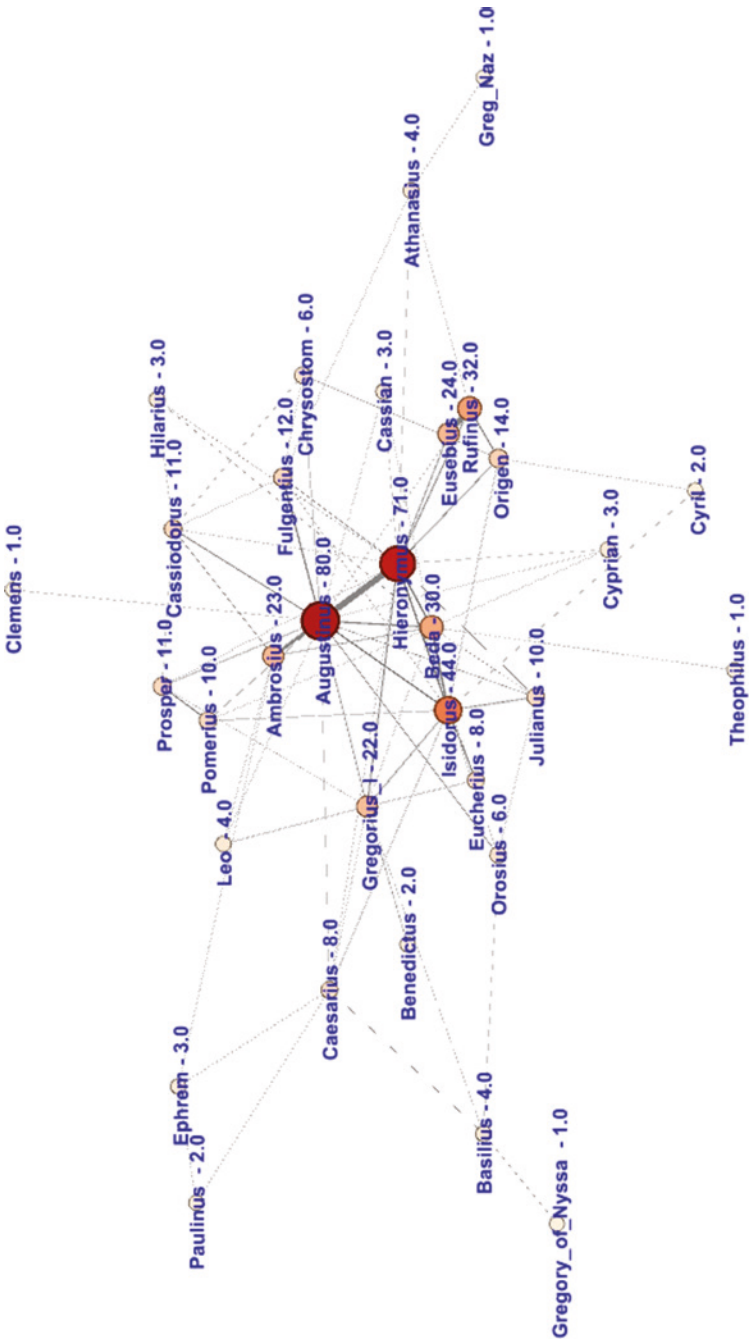

FIGURE 3.4 Co-appearance of authors in 9th-century manuscripts (Bischoff)

me).[41] There is one last measure I would like to consider instead, however, one that relates to some of my earlier observations about the use of the fathers. When Bede mentioned Josephus in the same breath as Augustine and Jerome, he was implicitly linking them. The case is similar with Defensor. Now, if the Carolingians frequently did the same, and frequently co-cited Josephus with venerable Church authorities, then they may have thought of Josephus as belonging to the same category, despite the evidence adduced hitherto. In fact, it is possible to examine this question of co-citation with much greater sophistication than we might imagine, with results that have important implications for our understanding of the patristic legacy in the Carolingian and Ottonian periods.

For historians of science, analysis of co-citations is a well-established technique for studying the structure of a particular field, and determining which figures are most central to it. Bear with me as I carefully lay out a well-proven example from the field of physics. A few years ago, my colleague Yves Gingras studied the references found in almost 60,000 physics articles published between 1900 and 1945.[42] In particular, he compiled statistics about how often physicists were co-cited amongst these papers. For example, if an article in the *Physical Review* cited both J.J. Thompson and Ernest Rutherford, then this would count as a co-citation of Thompson and Rutherford. Co-citations are therefore somewhat different from simple citations, that is, the number of times that Thompson is cited overall on his own. Counting co-citations offers a measure of the conceptual links between one scholar's work and that of others. If Thompson is frequently cited alongside Rutherford, it is probably because both were felt to be doing fundamental work on the structure of the atom. Furthermore, if J.J. Thompson was co-cited many times, with all sorts of different physicists, then he was clearly very central to the field. Another physicist, who might have many citations but few co-citations, would have been more peripheral, perhaps only important to a certain sub-specialty.

So, as I said, Gingras compiled statistics on the number of co-citations in these 60,000 physics articles, and tabulated the number of times each physicist was co-cited, and with whom. This allowed him to construct fascinating co-citation diagrams (Figure 3.5), where each node represents an author, and the thickness of the links represents the number of co-citations of a pair.

41 See Richard Matthew Pollard and Anne-Gaëlle Weber, "Le canon des Pères à l'époque carolingienne et la place de Flavius Josèphe," *Revue d'Études Augustiniennes et Patristiques* 67, no. 2 (2021): 301–302.

42 Yves Gingras, "The Transformation of Physics from 1900 to 1945," *Physics in Perspective* 12, no. 3 (2010): 248–65.

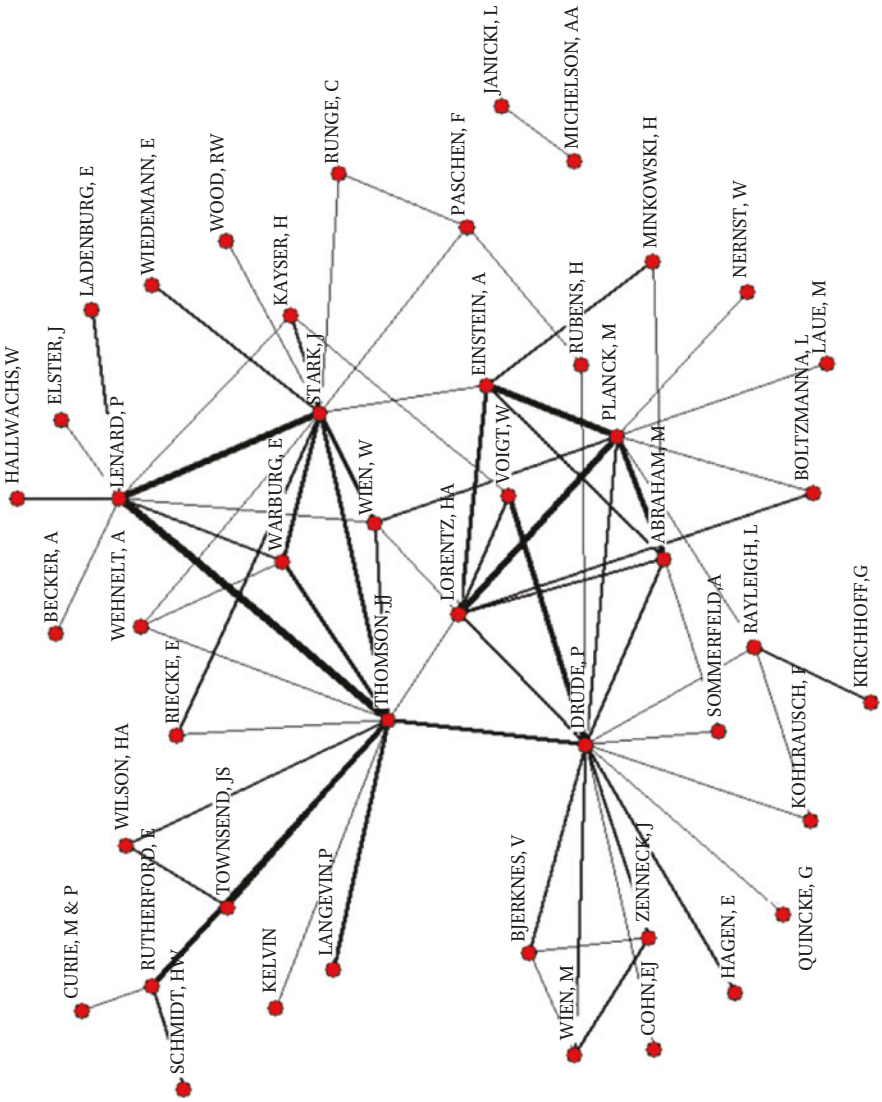

FIGURE 3.5 Co-citations of physicists 1905–1911, from Gingras (2010), 260

The diagram reproduced here illustrates the situation from 1905 to 1911. As you can see, J.J. Thompson was indeed very central, co-cited with a large number of other physicists, including his famous student Rutherford. More peripheral scholars are pushed to the outside boundaries of the diagram. These sorts of co-citation graphics are interesting for all sorts of reasons, but particularly because they reveal a conceptual map of the field in a particular time, and we get to see which scholars were dominating physics. It is notable that almost all of the central scholars on this diagram won the Nobel Prize, something that suggests this technique reflects some important reality about the field.[43]

What if we are not concerned with Nobel Prizes, but the title of "Church father?" As you have probably already guessed, I have adapted this same co-citation analysis for the Carolingian and Ottonian periods, to explore this very question. I used the electronic *Patrologia Latina* as the basis for my work, focusing on volumes 95 through to 140, which span the mid-8th through the 10th centuries.[44] The PL provides a reasonably comprehensive collection of Carolingian works, though we should not be fooled into thinking that it represents the totality of 9th-century intellectual production, and we should not forget it includes many misattributed later works. Acknowledging these limitations, I started by creating a list of 36 likely candidates for "father" status, including Josephus.[45] Then, I calculated the number of citations each author received individually overall, excluding false positives. These results (Table 3.3) are interesting on their own, of course: we see that Josephus ranks at eighth place, well behind Augustine and Bede, but still ahead of Cyprian, Origen, Isidore, Basil, and other worthies. This is a remarkable position, one that seems to make Josephus even more important to the Carolingians (and Ottonians) than his modest growth in manuscript numbers would have suggested.

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43 Yves Gingras, "Mapping the Changing Centrality of Physicists (1900–1944)," in *Proceedings of the 11th Conference of the International Society for Scientometrics and Informetrics* (Madrid: 2007): 314–20.

44 Some more technical details about the statistics can be given here, to avoid overburdening the main text. First, the searches were made by excluding the apparatus and by including only medieval works in volumes 95–140 (including the *Glossa ordinaria*, though this issue is discussed below). Second, the number of citations of each of the 36 authors was far too voluminous to verify each one individually, except in the case of Josephus, where I have verified each of the 421. As such, I have devised a statistical way of estimating the number of genuine citations that will be explained in a forthcoming publication.

45 Note that for various reasons this list of 36 does not exactly match the list found in note 40. First, because these two analyses were done very far apart, and second, because certain authors' names made these electronic searches more difficult.

TABLE 3.3 Estimation of Author Citations

Author	Estimated Citations, *PL* 95–140
Augustine	2576
Gregory	1969
Jerome	1416
Leo	1194
Ambrose	907
Bede	655
Benedict	634
Josephus	421
Athanasius	398
Cyprian	343
Origen	275
Isidore	275
Basil	225
Cyril	216
Hilary	204
G. Nazianzenus	141
Eusebius	136
Damasus	134
Chrysostom	125
Cassiodorus	97

Much more interesting, however, is my study of the co-citations of these authors. Using a special function of the *Patrologia Latina* database, I tabulated how many times each author was mentioned within 100 words of another. The results allowed me to construct this very interesting co-citation map (Figure 3.6) of the Church fathers in the Carolingian and Ottonian periods.

This is a very rich diagram, and I feel it can tell us quite a lot about Carolingian and Ottonian intellectual culture. First of all, we see that the size of the node for each author corresponds to the number of co-citations he has, and the thickness of the links represents the number of co-citations between authors. It is notable that Augustine is right at the center: he is co-cited the most often (836 times!), with nearly every other author. This reflects the fact

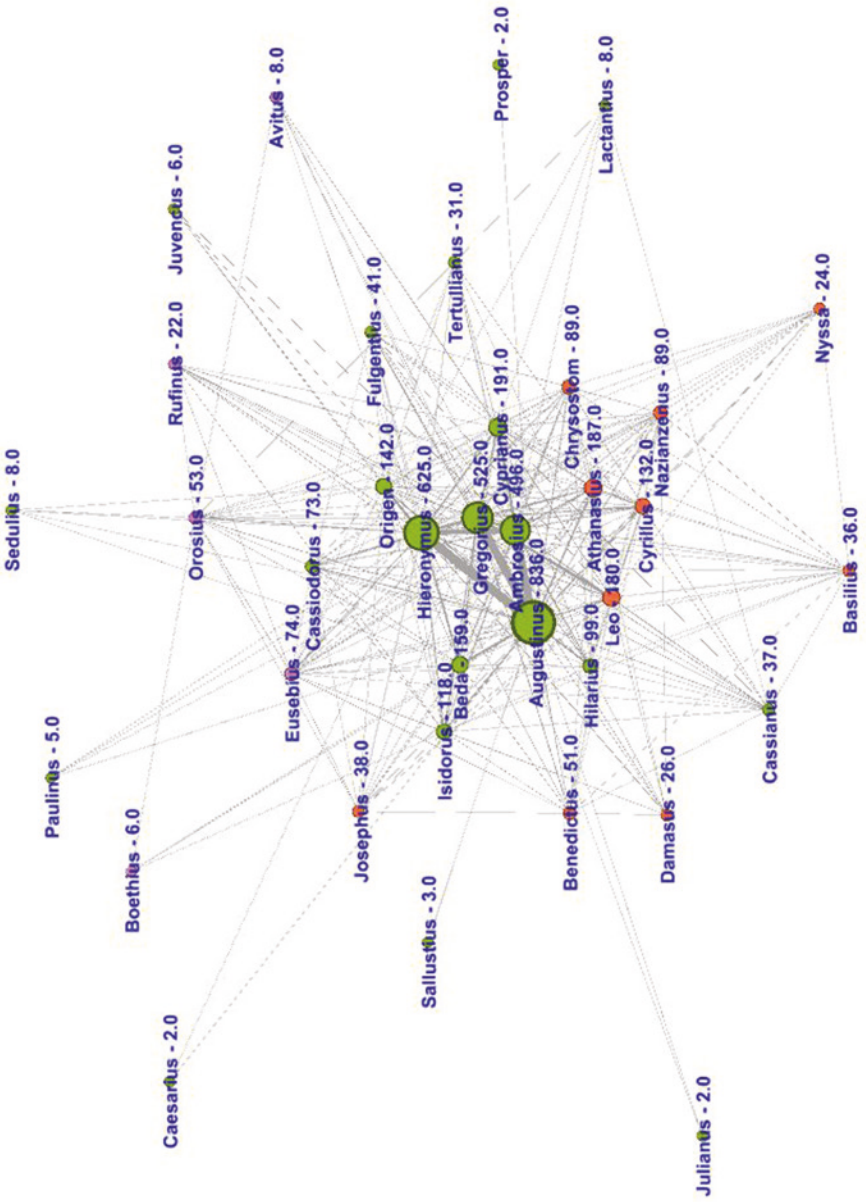

FIGURE 3.6 Co-citations of 36 authorities in PL 95–140

that Augustine's authority was fundamental on almost all topics: for example, he was cited with Fulgentius on the topic of predestination, but then with Bede on the Gospel of Matthew, a rather different subject. Slightly less central are Gregory and Jerome, followed by Ambrose. Isidore and Bede are prominent as well, just as we saw in the evidence I presented before, though we note that older figures, such as Cyprian, are more important by this measure than they were elsewhere.

In any case, I would argue that those authors who are found near the center of this diagram should be considered "Church fathers" in the minds of the Carolingians and Ottonians: when an author such as Bede is very frequently invoked alongside Augustine, Gregory, Jerome, then it suggests that the Carolingians put Bede in the same conceptual basket as them. Indeed, Augustine and Vincent of Lérins had recommended that the opinions of the Church fathers be gathered together, something that would produce frequent co-citations for those considered to be fathers. Centrality is moreover important for another reason, because in these graphics, it is related to the breadth and variety of co-citations for a particular author. That is to say, when an author is co-cited with almost everyone, he is central on this graphic, but this wide co-citation also suggests that he played a central role in the thinking of Carolingian and Ottonian writers. Similar to the manuscript results above, when an author is cited alongside nearly everyone, it means he possessed a wide-ranging authority, like J.J. Thompson or Augustine. Bede's centrality is therefore quite notable, and so we could argue that he was considered a Church father by the Carolingians. This would not only align with the other information I have presented but would also seem to support Joyce Hill's recent demonstration that the Carolingians put Bede (quote) "firmly in the camp of the fathers."[46]

Josephus is not to be found in the first or second tier of this graph, but rather in the third or fourth. His co-citations are not overly numerous, and his network of co-citations can be seen below (Figure 3.7). His most important links are with Jerome, Augustine, Bede, Ambrose, Origen, and Eusebius, and this suggests a figure who was – seemingly – most often invoked for the purposes of Biblical exegesis and Church history. He is nonetheless much more central than Lactantius, Caesarius of Arles, and Juvencus, and he equals the centrality of Cassian.

46 Joyce Hill, "Carolingian Perspectives on the Authority of Bede," in *Innovation and Tradition in the Writings of the Venerable Bede*, ed. Scott DeGregorio (Morgantown: 2006), 242 (cf. 241 n. 37). Cf. George Hardin Brown, *A Companion to Bede* (Woodbridge: 2009), 118; Joshua A. Westgard, "Bede and the Continent in the Carolingian Age and Beyond," in *The Cambridge Companion to Bede*, ed. Scott DeGregorio (Cambridge: 2010), 201–15.

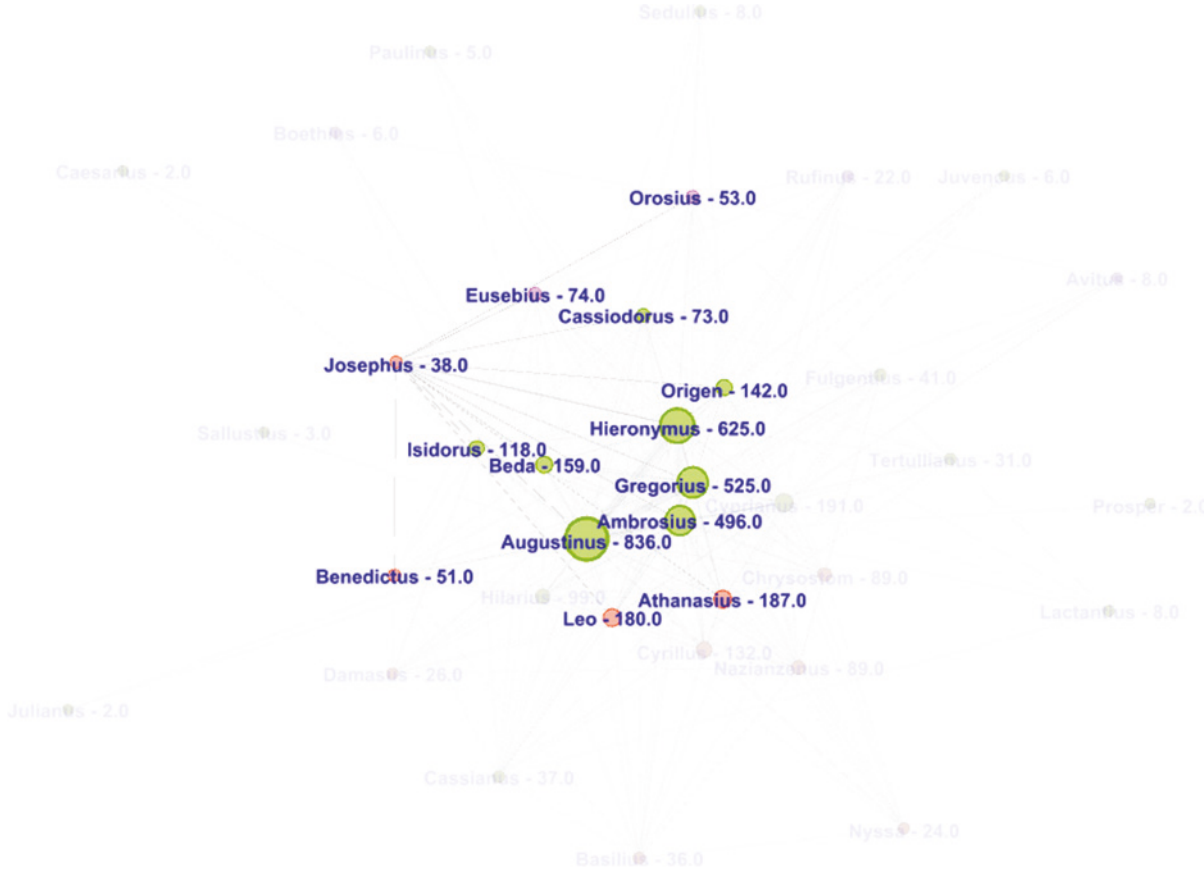

FIGURE 3.7 Co-citations of 36 authorities in PL 95–140: highlight of Josephus' sub-network

7 Josephus' Range of Authority across Genres

One final dataset, however, helps in fact to clarify the range and breadth of Josephus' authority, and compare it to that of the most central Church father, Augustine. The above suggested that veritable fathers, and especially Augustine, enjoyed a broad authority, which meant that they were invoked across a range of different questions and genres.[47] If we break down all the explicit citations of Josephus in PL 95–140 (Table 3.4), we see that he was not just cited for exegesis and history, as the co-citation data (and previous scholarship) might have suggested. He was instead prominently cited by name in sermons and homilies, as well as letters, something that suggests the wide currency and prestige of his name. He was also – on occasion – called upon in scientific and educational treatises, for example in Hrabanus' *De institutione clericorum* or *De universo*. Finally, one of the citations relates to an important piece of hagiography that was attributed to him, namely the 9th-century biography of Mary Magdalen.[48] It is certainly indicative of a solid, trustworthy reputation to be (falsely) credited with the biography of such a notable Christian figure.

However, if we compare the genres where Augustine is cited, it becomes clear that Josephus' authority was perhaps not as broad as all that. As we saw above, the bishop of Hippo is explicitly cited many thousands of times in PL

47 These genres are based on my own intuition. For a more rigorous approach, see Dominique Stutzmann, "Auteurs, genres, date de rédaction : Comment étudier les facteurs de succès pour les œuvres recensées dans la base FAMA," in *Succès des textes latins dans l'Occident médiéval: Approche méthodologique autour du projet FAMA*, eds. Pascale Bourgain and Francesco Siri (Paris: 2020), 45–49.

48 The citation comes in the "De vita beatae Mariae Magdalenae," PL 112, 1496C; falsely attributed to Hrabanus Maurus, this text in fact comes from the 12th century. The learned author (who has a confident familiarity with Josephus' work) criticizes the attribution of an earlier *Vita* to Josephus in the following words: "et caetera hujusmodi, falsissima sunt, et a fictoribus fabularum, de gestis poenitentis Aegyptiacae, mutuata. Quin, et ipsi, in initio fabulae suae, mendacii se accusant, Josepho, doctissimo historiographo, narrationem suam ascribentes, cum Josephus, in libris suis, nunquam Mariae Magdalenae meminerit." This comment refers to the so-called *Vita eremetica* of Mary Magdalen (BHL 5453–56), a text that begins with *Iosephus narrat de b. Maria Magdalena* (vel sim.). This text seems to have originated in 9th-century southern Italy: cf. Jean Misrahi, "A Vita Sanctae Mariae Magdalenae (B.H.L. 5456) in an Eleventh-Century Manuscript," *Speculum* 18, no. 3 (1943): 335–39; J. E. Cross, "Mary Magdalen in the Old English Martyrology: The Earliest Extant 'Narrat Josephus' Variant of Her Legend," *Speculum* 53, no. 1 (1978): 16–25; Hans Hansel, *Die Maria-Magdalena-Legende: Eine Quellen-Untersuchung* (Greifswald: 1937).

TABLE 3.4 Distribution of Josephus Citations by Genre

Genre	Citations in PL 95–140, excl. the Glossa ordinaria[a]
O.T. Exegesis	207
N.T. Exegesis	29
History	63
Homilies/ Sermons	20
Letters	9
Educational	8
Encyclopedic	5
Anti-Greek polemic	5
Liturgical commentary	4
Misc.	11
Total	361

a The *Glossa ordinaria* was excluded because it was compiled much later (in the 12th century), and therefore does not properly reflect early medieval thinking.

95–140, so the following breakdown constitutes only a rough (but I hope largely accurate) estimate.[49]

These data (Table 3.5) show very clearly that Augustine was widely cited across a rather different range of genres than Josephus. Where Josephus is most important in exegesis and history, Augustine is more central to works that I have classified as "theology," i.e. texts that are making some defined contribution on a particular subject of Christian belief (cf. Table 3.5, n. a). A substantive plurality of Augustine's citations come in this category, from which Josephus is almost entirely excluded. Exegesis and history are (compared to Josephus) relatively unimportant as a source for citations of Augustine; in fact, in terms of

49 The figures here are the "raw results," not the results corrected according to the procedures described in note 44 above. This accounts for the discrepancy between the total here (3605) and the total corrected result for Augustine (2576) seen before.

TABLE 3.5 Distribution of Augustine Citations by Genre

Genre	Citations	% (/3605)
Theology[a]	1415	39.3
Church councils / canon law	332	9.2
N.T. Exegesis	284	7.9
Liturgical commentary	257	7.1
Letters	249	6.9
O.T. Exegesis	197	5.5
History	143	4.0
Homilies/Sermons	131	3.6
Educational	88	2.4
Anti-Greek polemic	76	2.1
Martyrology	60	1.7
Hagiography	21	0.6
Encyclopedic	4	0.1
Misc.	348	9.7
Total	3605	

a By theology, I mean works that are primarily concerned with answering or disputing some more abstract aspect of the Christian faith, rather than (e.g.) straight exegesis or liturgical commentary: for example, I count the following works as "theology": Hincmar, *Collectio de una et non trina deitate*; Prudentius, *De praedestinatione*; Jonas, *De cultu imaginum*; Paschasius, *De corpore et sanguine Domini*; etc.

the *number* of citations (rather than just proportion), Josephus is in fact just as prominent as the African father. Augustine also appears frequently in Church councils and canon law, and in other Christian genres like martyrologies, where Josephus is likewise generally excluded. The range and variety of Augustine's citations, and indeed his frequent appearance in genres where Josephus is largely excluded, suggests that Josephus' profile is not really that of a Church father, or at least that he was invoked in a much more limited set of situations than the loftiest of the fathers.

8 A Qualitative Conclusion

The quantitative data tells us a great deal about the unexpected importance of certain figures in the patristic pantheon of the Carolingian world. We can see that the "four fathers" were not yet established in the 9th century, but rather seem to have been joined by Isidore and Bede. The new methods I have used also allow us to see more clearly which other figures were lower down, but still part of the category of father. But I have merely scratched the surface of my results here, and there is considerably more potential in the method: if I made the data more granular, we could look at how each figure or work was represented in a particular genre, or in particular regions or at specific times. This quantitative data, however, seems to undermine Schreckenberg's provocative pronouncement about Josephus as a Church father.

Quantity is not quality, however, even if quantity has a quality all its own. To conclude this chapter, I would like to briefly consider a few qualitative examples that speak to Josephus' reputation in the Carolingian period. Amulo, bishop of Lyons, warned against trusting Josephus overmuch, because though he was very learned, he was still an "impious Jew" who embellished or warped the truth of Scripture.[50] On the one hand, Amulo's comments probably stem from the genre in which he was writing. Like his predecessor Agobard, Amulo harboured a deep antipathy towards Jews, and the work in which these anti-Josephus comments appear was anti-Jewish polemic (likewise following Agobard's lead), beginning ominously with the words "*destestanda iudaeorum perfidia*."[51] Even if Josephus was targeted mainly for being Jewish, Amulo was probably reacting to the high reputation and extensive popularity Josephus enjoyed amongst his contemporaries, such as Hrabanus Maurus, abbot of Fulda. Following the example of Bede, Hrabanus used Josephus extensively in his Biblical exegesis, as I hinted toward the beginning of this chapter. Perhaps in reaction to critics like Amulo, Hrabanus' attitude towards Josephus sometimes seems slightly circumspect, though perhaps not so suspicious as Bat-Sheva Albert made it out to be.[52] For example, in the introduction to his

50 Cf. Pollard, "The *De Excidio* of 'Hegesippus' and the Reception of Josephus in the Early Middle Ages," 65–66.

51 Montpellier, BUHM H. 237, fol. 1r; Amulo Lugdunensis, "Epistola, seu Liber contra Judaeos ad Carolum regem," PL 116, 141A. Cf. Bat-Sheva Albert, "Adversus Iudaeos in the Carolingian Empire," in *Contra Iudaeos: Ancient and Medieval Polemics between Christians and Jews*, eds. Ora Limor and Gedaliahu Stroumsa (Tübingen: 1996), 119–42, esp. 135–142.

52 Albert, "Adversus Iudaeos in the Carolingian Empire"; Bat-Sheva Albert, "Anti-Jewish Exegesis in the Carolingian Period: The Commentaries on Lamentations of Hrabanus

commentary on Chronicles, Hrabanus cautiously states that he has included Josephus' throughout, but he will leave it to others to decide whether his testimony is to be trusted.[53]

These cautious comments exist in tension with enthusiasm, since Hrabanus also clearly accorded Josephus a great deal of respect. But he never went so far as to treat Josephus like a Church father. In at least one passage, in fact, he seems explicitly to deny him this status. In the same commentary on Chronicles, Hrabanus notes a parallel between 2 Chron. 23 and the fourth book of Kings. He states the following:

> The fourth book of Kings also tells of this same matter. In our commentary on this, we have inserted the explanations we have found amongst the words of the fathers. But now we wish to insert how Josephus the historian of the Jews referred to this question, so that the diligent reader, having heard the accounts of various figures, may more easily recognize the truth.[54]

Much as Cassiodorus had almost explicitly called Josephus a "father" in his commentary on the Psalms (as Hilliard also notes above), Hrabanus here seems definitively to deny Josephus a patristic status, as in one sentence he mentions the opinions of "the fathers," then clearly transitions ("but now") to Josephus, who evidently belongs to a different mental category. At best, Josephus seems here to be a trustworthy corroborator to the fathers, perhaps similar to Bede's use of him in his *Letter to Plegwine*.[55] The following example, however, will show that Josephus still enjoyed a special status amongst the Carolingians, at least in very particular circumstances.

As part of some wide-ranging research on the use of the fathers in the Carolingian councils, Josh Timmermann has noted that the Carolingians adjusted the authorities they cited explicitly to fit their audience.[56] When

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Maurus and Pascasius Radbertus," in *Biblical Studies in the Early Middle Ages*, eds. Claudio Leonardi and Giovanni Orlandi (Florence: 2005), 175–92.

53 Hrabanus Maurus, "In Paralipomenon," PL 109, 281A.

54 Hrabanus Maurus, "In Paralipomenon," 498D. : "De hac eadem re et in libro Regum quarto narratur: in cujus expositione quae ex Patrum dictis explanata invenimus, inseruimus. Sed et nunc quomodo Josephus historicus Judaeorum de hoc referat inserendum censemus, ut lector diligens cum diversorum narrationes audierit, facilius veritatem rei possit agnoscere."

55 See above, at note 19. On Josephus' role as a "corroborator" to the New Testament, see Hilliard's essay in this volume.

56 Josh Timmermann, "Beati Patres: Uses of Augustine and Gregory the Great at Carolingian Church Councils, 816–836" (MA, University of British Columbia, 2015).

dealing with internal, Frankish matters, Augustine, Bede, Gregory, and so on could rub shoulders as reputable authorities. When facing down foreign opponents, however, and particularly the Byzantines, the Carolingians explicitly cited a much more restricted set of authorities, headed up by Augustine, while lesser figures, like Bede, were used but never named. It makes sense that in a high-stakes situation, writers would think carefully about which authorities would be most likely to convince the intended (or implied) audience, implicitly revealing something about the writer's ranking of authorities. Now, take the example of Ratramnus of Corbie's *Contra Graecorum,* an attack on the Greek Church written in 867, during the Photian schism. Ratramnus cites a restricted range of authorities by name, and never once invokes Bede or Isidore explicitly. In the fourth book, however, Ratramnus develops a rather diplomatic argument that divergences in observances and customs should not lead to schisms between Christian communities. It is here that he offers as evidence a long quotation explicitly from Josephus (*Ant.* 18.11–22) where the Jewish historian describes the differing practices of various Jewish groups, particularly the Essenes, the Sadducees, and the Pharisees.[57] Ratramnus thereby suggests that if the Jews could have such different customs, and yet remain in communion as part of the same faith, so much the more so should the Eastern and Western Churches be able to bear each other's differences patiently. It seems clear that Ratramnus felt that Josephus' name would carry weight with this (putative) audience. It was extremely fitting, in fact, that Ratramnus should rely on a lofty authority, one which he probably knew was respected in the East just as much as the West, to advocate for more amiable and respectful relations between these two sides. Bede, who favored Josephus so much, may have become a quasi-father to the Carolingians, but Josephus retained a special authority all his own, perhaps due to his universal and longstanding recognition amongst the various Churches of the world. He was therefore not a Church father, but to speak fancifully, perhaps a Church grandfather: an old authority whose relevance continues under special dispensation, but also one from whom two (or more) newer Christian cultures draw their lineage.

57 Ratramnus Corbiensis, "Contra Graecorum opposita," PL 121, 310A–311B.

CHAPTER 4

Between History and Exegesis: Frechulf of Lisieux and the Carolingian Reception of Josephus

Graeme Ward

1 Introduction

The Carolingian era marks a critical juncture in the reception history of the Latin translations of Flavius Josephus, not least because the quantity of available evidence increases dramatically. In 8th-and especially 9th-century centers of learning, spread throughout the empire of Charlemagne (d. 814) and his descendants, sustained effort and resources were channeled into copying and studying the received writings of ancient Christianity. Above all, these writings comprised the books of the Old and New Testaments together with their patristic exegesis. Although narrative histories, Josephus' works also were given a place within this corpus of authoritative knowledge: by the 9th century, both the *Jewish War* and *Jewish Antiquities* had become vital tools for interpreting the Bible. To be sure, this was by no means a Carolingian innovation, but due to the greater volume of extant sources, the reception of Josephus can be examined in more detail than is possible for earlier centuries.[1] For example, from around 800 onwards there was a sharp increase in the production and survival of manuscripts of Josephus; extant library catalogues from Carolingian religious houses, furthermore, allow copies of the *Antiquities* and *Jewish War* to be located at various ecclesiastical institutions throughout Western Europe;[2] and thanks to the compilatory methods of Carolingian intellectuals, it is possible to study in considerable depth how specific individuals and communities engaged with Josephus' oeuvre.

1 On the earlier medieval reception of Josephus, see the contribution by Paul Hilliard in the present volume.

2 For example: Lorsch – Angelika Häse, *Mittelalterliche Bücherverzeichnisse aus Kloster Lorsch: Einleitung, Edition und Kommentar* (Wiesbaden: 2002), 137; Reichenau – Paul Lehmann, *Mittelalterliche Bibliothekskataloge Deutschlands und der Schweiz, vol. 1: Die Bistümer Konstanz und Chur* (Munich: 1918), 247; St Gall – Paul Lehmann, *Mittelalterliche Bibliothekskataloge, vol. 1*, 76. See further Justin Lake's contribution.

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Two figures best illustrate this compilatory practice: Abbot Hrabanus Maurus of Fulda (d. 856), one of the 9th century's most prolific biblical exegetes; and Bishop Frechulf of Lisieux (d. 850/2), who is the focus of this chapter. Even among the richness of the Carolingian evidence, these men stand out as prodigious readers and utilizers of Josephus work. What is more, they knew each other, having been educated together at Fulda.[3] Perhaps around 824, shortly after having taken up his post at Lisieux, in modern-day Normandy, Frechulf wrote to his former colleague to request that he compile a series of commentaries on the Pentateuch and send them out west; this Hrabanus duly did.[4] Each of the commentaries were carefully structured compendia of patristic exegesis of the first five books of the Old Testament, but, among extensive excerpts from the Church Fathers, passages from Josephus' *Antiquities* can be found in all but one of them (i.e. Leviticus). Hrabanus would go on to make even more sustained use of Josephus in the many other Old Testament commentaries he produced between the later 820s and 840s. While Hrabanus' patristic authorities had unlocked the allegorical meanings of the Bible, the *Antiquities* were an indispensable source for understanding and analyzing the books of the Old Testament as history. In the exhaustive analysis of Hrabanus' exegesis undertaken by Silvia Cantelli and her students, the *Antiquities* was shown to be the abbot of Fulda's most frequently used historical source for studying Scripture.[5]

Frechulf, by contrast, is usually considered to be a historian, not a biblical commentator, but this distinction is misleading. His *Twelve Books of Histories* (completed c. 830) charted the course of the human past from the world's creation through to the 7th century A.D.[6] The *Histories* were produced in

3 Michael I. Allen, *Prolegomena*, in *Frechulfi Lexoviensis episcopi opera omnia*, CCCM 169 (Turnhout: 2002), 12*–15*.

4 Frechulf of Lisieux, *Epistola*, ed. M. I. Allen, CCCM 169A (Turnhout: 2002), 5–7; Hrabanus Maurus, *Epistolae*, nos. 8–12, ed. E. Dümmler, MGH Epp 5 (Hanover: 1899), 393–400.

5 Silvia Cantelli, *Hrabani Mauri opera exegetica: Repertorium fontium*, vol. 1 (Turnhout: 2001), 139–144; see also vol. 3, 1470–71. On Josephus at Fulda, see Thomas Martin and Gangolf Schrimpf, "Aus fuldischen Handschriften: Fragmente aus einer Handschrift der lateinischen *Antiquitates Judaicae* des Flavius Josephus (Marburg, Hessisches Staatsarchiv, Hr 2,5a-c)," *Archiv für mittelrheinische Kirchengeschichte* 53 (2001): 447–522. Further on Hrabanus, see Mayke de Jong, "Empire as *Ecclesia*: Hrabanus Maurus and Biblical *Historia* for Rulers," in *The Uses of the Past in the Early Middle Ages*, eds. Yitzhak Hen and Matthew Innes (Cambridge: 2000), 191–226, esp. 217–220 and Piet Hoogeveen, "Jewish Double Portraits: Hrabanus Maurus and his Commentary on 1&2 Samuel," in *Barbarians and Jews: Jews and Judaism in the Early Medieval West*, eds. Yitzhak Hen and Thomas F.X. Noble (Turnhout: 2018), 257–78.

6 Frechulf, *Historiarum libri XII* [= *Histories*], ed. Michael. I. Allen, CCCM 169A (Turnhout: 2002), 9–724. What follows builds on Graeme Ward, *History, Scripture, and Authority in the*

two conceptually linked volumes, labelled here Parts I and II. Each volume was parceled up into a system of books and chapters, and inserted into this framework was a wealth of material excerpted from a wide range of texts. Like Hrabanus' commentaries, Frechulf's work was a compendium of authoritative knowledge, but late antique histories and chronicles rather than patristic exegesis comprised his principal sources. The Latin Josephus, however, was as important to Frechulf's approach to historiography as it was to Hrabanus' interpretations of Scripture. The aim of this chapter is to survey Frechulf's use of Josephus in order to highlight some of the broad contours and the fine-grained details of his engagement with the *Jewish War* and the *Antiquities*, and to bring into focus the blurry boundaries between history and biblical commentary that his reception reveals.

2 Frechulf, Josephus, and Eusebius

In the context of early medieval historiography, Frechulf's use of Josephus is unparalleled. Before going further, this statement requires some qualification. Frechulf was not straightforwardly a historian. He is best thought of as a reader, compiler, and interpreter of the Christian historiographical tradition. In Cassiodorus' *Institutiones*, a text which helped define this tradition, Josephus – although Jewish – was considered canonical and was seen as the prime representative of providential history-writing.[7] Three centuries after Cassiodorus, Frechulf approached Josephus, as he did the other canonical historians, not as a model for how to compose a particular form of narrative, but as an indispensable component of a corpus of historical knowledge which collectively revealed God's role in creating the world and managing human affairs.[8] As an exegete of this corpus, Frechulf excerpted passages that he deemed important and fashioned them into a coherent narrative. If Josephus served as an historiographical example, it may have been editorial rather than compositional: like Frechulf's *Histories*, the *Antiquities* also was "a chronologically organized survey … pieced together from excerpts culled from numerous sources."[9]

Carolingian Empire: Frechulf of Lisieux (Oxford: 2022) and Rosamond McKitterick and Graeme Ward, "Knowledge of the History of the Jews in the Early Middle Ages," in *Barbarians and Jews*, 231–256, esp. 244–55.

7 Cassiodorus, *Institutiones*, I.17, ed. R.A.B. Mynors (Oxford: 1937), 55–7. On Josephus' understanding of providence, see especially *Antiquities*, Praefatio, 13–17, ed. Blatt, 124–5.

8 See also Justin Lake's contribution in this volume.

9 Daniel R. Schwartz, "Many Sources but a Single Author: Josephus's *Jewish Antiquities*," in *A Companion to Josephus*, 36–58, at 42.

A second point to note at the outset is that Frechulf read Josephus in relation to his authoritative Christian sources. His basic knowledge of Josephus' life and writings illustrates this point. Near the beginning of the second book of Part II of the *Histories*, Frechulf devoted a short chapter to "the historian Josephus and what he revealed about the Saviour."[10] This chapter provided a brief biographical sketch – "a priest of Jerusalem" (*ex Hierosolimis sacerdos*) who, during Rome's war in Judea, was forcibly relocated to Rome by Emperor Vespasian before being freed by his son, Titus – together with a round-up of his writings: "seven books of the *Jewish War* [...], twenty books of the *Antiquities* from the beginning of the world until the 14th year of Domitian, and two books *Against Apion.*"[11] The immediate Christian significance of Josephus' books were then set out: his *Antiquities* praised John the Baptist, attributed the destruction of Jerusalem to the murder of James the Just, and contained the controversial account of Jesus' life known as the *Testimonium Flavianum*.[12] All of this was taken directly from Jerome's entry on Josephus in his bio-bibliographical catalogue, *On Illustrious Men* (written *c.* 392), which itself was based on information from Eusebius of Caesarea's *Ecclesiastical History* (completed *c.* 324). To this passage, Frechulf then tacked on an extract from Rufinus' Latin translation and continuation of the *Ecclesiastical History* (completed *c.* 401/2), which offered further demonstration of Josephus' value. In the *Jewish War*, Josephus had related how, at the time of the Jewish rebellion against Rome, "an oracle was discovered in the sacred scriptures" that predicted that a world ruler would arise from Judea. Josephus thought the oracle spoke of Vespasian but according to Eusebius it had foretold Christ.[13]

Eusebius' scholarship – transmitted to the Latin West through Jerome and Rufinus – established the foundations upon which the Christian reception of Josephus was built, especially as it pertained to the history of Judaea in the era of the New Testament.[14] This influence can be seen very clearly in the first book of Part II of Frechulf's *Histories*, which ran from the birth of Christ through to

10 Frechulf, *Histories*, II.2.5, 506–507.

11 Frechulf, *Histories*, II.2.5 [1/11], 506. Translation adapted from *Saint Jerome: On Illustrious Men*, trans. Thomas P. Halton (Washington D.C.: 1999), 28–29.

12 These are some of the most discussed topics in the reception history of Josephus. On the *Testimonium*, see Alice Whealey, "The Testimonium Flavianum," in *A Companion to Josephus*, 345–355; on James the Just, see Nicholas P. Allen, "Josephus on James the Just? A Re-Evaluation *of Antiquitates Judaicae* 20.9.1," *Journal of Early Christian History* 7 (2017): 1–27 and Sabrina Inowlocki, "Did Josephus Ascribe the Fall of Jerusalem to the Murder of James, Brother of Jesus?," *Revue des études juives* 170 (2011): 21–49.

13 Frechulf, *Histories*, II.2.5 [25/34], 507.

14 See Paul Hilliard in this volume.

the destruction of Jerusalem in A.D. 70. This book is peppered with references to the *Jewish War* and the *Antiquities*, but in every case these references were second-hand, incorporated via excerpts from the *Ecclesiastical History* and *On Illustrious Men*. As a result, the abundance of Josephan content was, in essence, Eusebian. For example, the siege and subsequent destruction of Jerusalem was the climactic and horrifying set piece that Part II's first book worked towards, and Frechulf reproduced the main thrust of the *Ecclesiastical History*: the Jews suffering at the hands of the Romans was considered an act of divine punishment, unleashed upon the people as a direct consequence of their perceived guilt in bringing about Christ's crucifixion; and Josephus' account of Judaea's rebellion against Rome, which itself had said nothing about Christ or his adherents, served as tampered testimony.[15] When Heinz Schreckenberg came to Frechulf in his classic survey of the *Flavius-Josephus-Tradition*, he stated that "the already known distortions and falsifications are again encountered," but without acknowledging the main reason for this, namely, that Frechulf repeated his authoritative sources more or less verbatim.[16]

Schreckenberg's overview is limited in a further but no less consequential way. In listing the concordances between Frechulf and Josephus, he included only the indirect passages found in Part II of the *Histories*.[17] In many ways, however, Part I offers more fascinating insights, since here the bishop of Lisieux went beyond his late antique ecclesiastical authorities and engaged directly with the Latin Josephus, drawing not only on the *Antiquities* and *Jewish War*, but also on the five-book Christian re-working of the *Jewish War* that came to be attributed to Hegesippus.[18] Although the Eusebian narrative still loomed large in Frechulf's overall understanding of the past, much is missed if we make that our prime focus.

3 Authority, Texts, and Transmission

Part I runs from the origins of human history through to the birth of Christ. In the dedicatory prologue, Frechulf explained that he had been instructed by

15 Frechulf, *Histories*, II.1.22–24, 481–490.

16 Heinz Schreckenberg, *Die Flavius-Josephus-Tradition*, 112; McKitterick and Ward, "Knowledge," 250.

17 Schreckenberg, *Flavius-Josephus-Tradition*, 114–15.

18 See Richard Matthew Pollard, "The *De Excidio* of 'Hegesippus' and the Reception of Josephus in the Early Middle Ages," *Viator* 46/2 (2015): 65–100, with discussion of Frechulf at 93–4; see also Carson Bay's contribution in this volume.

Helisachar, a major player at the court of the Carolingian emperor Louis the Pious (d. 840), "to hunt through the volumes of the ancients," both Christian and non-Christian, and extract from them "all that pertained to the truth of history."[19] Within this scheme, Josephus played a doubly salient role. Firstly, as the "indigenous author of the Jews," he occupied a distinctive space, set apart both from Christians and pagans.[20] His *Antiquities* and *War* comprised a detailed history of ancient Israel from the perspective of a *sacerdos* from Jerusalem, that is, from a well-informed Jewish insider. Yet he was still a Christian outsider, whose authority and expertise on the history and traditions of God's prior people supplied external and extra-scriptural corroboration to the history and truth of Christianity. Additionally, as noted briefly above, Josephus himself was a compiler, and as a result his *Jewish Antiquities* were dotted with references to ancient Hellenistic historians: as we shall see, Frechulf drew on Josephus' own authority together with the non-Christian authorities preserved within his work.

Excerpts from Josephus can be found in all seven books of Part I, sometimes in copious, direct quotation, other times in compressed, paraphrased, or altered form.[21] Although passages often were inserted silently, Josephus' name appears no less than thirty times, more so than any other of Frechulf's core sources.[22] This in part reflects Frechulf's decision to only name his sources when they were in disagreement, and Josephus often supplied information that contrasted with what Christian historians and chroniclers had written. But it also points towards Frechulf's perception of Josephus as an authority whom his audience ought to know.[23] On four occasions, Frechulf even pointed interested readers in the direction of the *Antiquities*, should they want to know more about a topic that he had dealt with only briefly.[24] Such guides for further

19 Frechulf, *Histories*, I. Prol [13/16], 18: "iussisti ut perscrutando diligenter uolumina antiquorum, seu agiographorum siue etiam gentilium scriptorum, quaeque pertinent ad historiae ueritatem breuiter ac lucide colligere desudarem."

20 The phrase "vernaculus Iudaeorum scriptor" (at Frechulf, *Histories*, II.1.5 [20/21], 449) was adopted from Eusebius-Jerome, *Chronicle*, ed. Helm, 175.

21 Allen, *Prolegomena*, 282*–285*.

22 For comparison, in Part I Orosius was named nine times, Eusebius named six times, and Augustine four times.

23 Frechulf, *Histories*, I. Prol. [51/61], 20; trans. Lake, *Prologues*, 112. According to Cantelli, *Opera*, vol. 1, 142, Hrabanus regularly signaled Josephus' name in the text of his commentaries, but not through marginal initials, which was his standard method for marking out his patristic sources; Josephus was authoritative, but still distinguished from Christian authorities. On Josephus' ambiguous patristic status in the Carolingian world, see Richard M. Pollard's contribution to this volume.

24 Frechulf, *Histories*, I.3.3 [16/18], 162; I.3.5 [19.20], 166; I.6.11 [50.51], 340; I.7.12 [150], 402.

reading imply that Frechulf expected at least some of his audience to be able to consult this source, and thus hint at the sort of context within which reading and learning took place, namely monastic or cathedral churches with well stocked libraries. Frechulf's editorial asides, moreover, also shed light on the text of Josephus he had at his disposal.

Medieval Latin codices transmit either all or part of the *Antiquities* and *Jewish War* separately, or some combination of them both.[25] The make-up of manuscripts of Josephus was not fixed, so some communities of readers would have engaged with different assemblages of texts than others. Frechulf's exemplar likely contained *Antiquities* I–XII, followed by the seven books of the *Jewish War*, labelled, however, as *Antiquities* XIII–XIX.[26] This can be gleaned from when, having offered a partial survey of the reign of the second Hasmonean monarch, Alexander Jannaeus (ruled 103–76 B.C.), he encouraged anyone eager to learn more about this king's deeds "to read the thirteenth book of Josephus's history of [Jewish] Antiquity."[27] As the excerpts surrounding this note make clear, Frechulf's source was *Jewish War* I. The perception of the first book of the *Jewish War* as the thirteenth book of the *Antiquities* was not as unusual as it might now appear: a considerable number of manuscripts preserve this or similar arrangements.[28] Furthermore, even if the bishop of Lisieux only had direct access to *Antiquities* I–XII he still knew parts of the later books through the indirect tradition. Through Rufinus' translation of the *Ecclesiastical History* and Jerome's *On Illustrious Men*, Frechulf included passages from *Antiquities* XVIII, XIX, and XX.[29] Distinguishing between direct and indirect reception, although important, is a modern exercise: for Frechulf, and surely for many others too, knowledge of Josephus' writings would have involved a complex mishmash of both. Once we factor in his copy of Pseudo-Hegesippus, the full range of his Josephan resources can be appreciated.

The sheer extent of Frechulf's borrowings from Josephus, however, must not preclude us from appreciating just how selective he was in his use. Even if his was an abridged exemplar combining *Antiquities* I–XII and *Jewish War* I–VII, the narrative that it presented was vast; what was extracted was only

25 Blatt, 25–100; David B. Levenson and Thomas R. Martin, "The Ancient Latin Translations of Josephus," in *A Companion to Josephus*, 322–44.

26 Allen, *Prolegomena*, 204* and 213*.

27 Frechulf, *Histories*, I.6.11 [50.51], 340: "Ergo qui latius actus eius scire voluerit, tertium decimum Iosepphi librum Antiquitatis historiae legere curabit." See also I.7.12 [150], 402.

28 Blatt, 42; Levenson and Martin, "Ancient Latin Translations," 327 and 336–39.

29 E.g., Frechulf, *Histories*, II.1.11 [24/30], 458; II.1.14 [19/42], 464–65; II.1.18 [44/55], 473–74; II.2.5 [12/15], 506.

a fraction of what was available. Books 5–7 of the *Histories* drew heavily on *Antiquities* XII and *Jewish War* I, augmented with choice excerpts from Pseudo-Hegesippus' *De excidio*,[30] to chart Judean history from the translation of Torah into Greek in the reign of Ptolemy II Philadelphus (died 246 B.C.) through to the death of Herod the Great; books 3 and 4 which ran from the construction of the Temple through to the establishment of Alexander the Great's successor states, made notable use of *Antiquities* X and XI, especially in relation the destruction of the first Temple by Nebuchadnezzar, the Jews' seventy-year Babylonian captivity, and then their partial repatriation under Cyrus the Great in 538 B.C. Only sparing use was made of *Antiquities* VII, VIII and IX, which covered the Monarchic Period, and nothing at all was taken from *Antiquities* III, IV, V, and VI, which extended from the Hebrews' exile in the desert under Moses until the death of King Saul. All borrowings from *Antiquities* II were concentrated into a single chapter centered on the life of Moses, and specifically on his upbringing at Pharoah's court and his early exploits that, crucially, were not related in Exodus 2.[31]

Frechulf's chapter on Moses is in the second book of Part I. In re-capping this book, he revealed the underlying principle guiding his approach to Jewish history and, by extension, to Josephus:

> at the appropriate places, we noted only the names of the judges or kings of the Israelites, together with the number of years in which they led their people. Otherwise, however, we have passed silently over their deeds, which through continuous reading are recalled to memory: it seemed to us that those events which are known to all need not be repeated.[32]

The deeds known to all were those contained within the books of the Old Testament, which would have been internalized by ecclesiastics through constant reading and recitation as part of the liturgy. An important point stems from this: Josephus was not used simply as a historiographical re-telling of Scripture. Rather, Josephus was considered most valuable when he narrated

30 For more details on Frechulf's excerpts from Pseudo-Hegesippus, see Justin Lake in this volume.

31 Frechulf, *Histories*, I.2.17 [20/100], 111–115. This was explicitly attributed to Josephus: "Haec namque ex Iosepphi decerpsimus historia" ("These things we have excerpted from the history of Josephus").

32 Frechulf, *Histories*, I.3.1 [1/6], 158: "iudicum Israhelitici populi siue regum nomina tantum oportunis designauimus locis, annorum etiam numerum quibus populo praefuerunt, cetera uero ab eis gesta quae lectitando continuatim ad memoriam reuocantur sub silentio transiliuimus: uisum nobis non fore iteranda quae omnibus nota sunt."

extra-biblical history, such as Moses' youth, or when he dealt with events that occurred between the end of the Old Testament and the beginning of the New. Despite opting to pass silently over the deeds of the Israelites, Frechulf nevertheless was still interested in understanding Scripture, or rather the historiographical world that served as the backdrop to Scripture. In other words, even if the *Histories* were a historiographical compendium, they still had an exegetical edge. For the remainder of this chapter, I want to pick out some examples of Frechulf's exegetical uses of Josephus.

4 Josephus and Genesis

The *Histories*' exegetical edge is most apparent in the very first book of Part 1, which ran from Adam to Abraham. This archaic era largely fell outside the purview of Frechulf's Christian historians, and to fill this gap he turned to biblical commentary. As a result, the book has a distinctive feel: many of its chapters were framed as interpretations of verses of Genesis that were considered hard to understand literally and historically. But interspersed within this exegetical material was a clear story of divine reward and punishment that focused on key episodes in the first book of the Bible: Cain's murder of Abel, Noah and the Flood, the subsequent repopulation of the world by Noah's family, and the destruction of the Tower of Babel. *Antiquities* I not only was Frechulf's chief historiographical source for plotting this narrative, but also was used both in conjunction with, and simply as, exegesis.

The inclusion near the beginning of Book 1 of the Augustinian-inspired paradigm of the two cities, one heavenly and one terrestrial, is a case in point.[33] Following Augustine, Frechulf located the origin of the two cities in Adam's sons, Cain, Abel, and Seth.[34] Enoch City, built by Cain, symbolized the *civitas impiorum* ("City of the Impious"), whose citizens disregarded God.[35] To augment Augustine, Frechulf turned to Josephus, since the "author of the *Antiquities*" (*Antiquitatum scriptor*), had enumerated the wicked practices

33 Nikolaus Staubach, "*Christiana Tempora*: Augustin und das Ende der alten Geschichte in der Weltchronik Frechulfs von Lisieux," *Frühmittelalterliche Studien* 29 (1995): 167–206; Michael 1. Allen, "Frechulf of Lisieux," in *The Oxford Guide to the Historical Reception of Augustine*, eds. Karla Pollmann and Willemien Otten, vol 2 (Oxford: 2013), 1010–1011.

34 Frechulf, *Histories*, 1.1.9 [37/54], 36.

35 On Enoch City, see further Sam Ottewill-Soulsby, "'Hunting Diligently through the Volumes of the Ancients': Frechulf of Lisieux on the First City and the End of Innocence," in *Remembering the Ancient City in the Post-Antique World*, eds. Javier Martínez Jiménez and Sam Ottewill-Soulsby (Oxford: 2022), 225–246.

of Cain upon which Enoch City was founded.[36] Two chapters later, Josephus offered Frechulf historical examples that demonstrated how Seth and his family were, after Abel, early representatives of the *civitas Dei* ("City of the God"): they lived in harmony with one another, were pioneers in music and science, and recorded their discoveries on brick and stone columns so that they would withstand future cataclysms that Adam himself had prophesied.[37] In both cases, Augustine's theological understanding of the two cities was paralleled in the historical record. Non-biblical history complemented Augustine's exegesis of Genesis, something which, it should be noted, Augustine himself had eschewed.

Although Josephus' insights into Cain and Seth had no basis in Scripture, they still served to make historical sense of it. After sketching the blessed lives of Seth's kin, Frechulf's next chapter turned to the Letter of Jude, the last of the catholic epistles and the penultimate book of the New Testament. Jude stated that Enoch, a distant descendant of Seth, was a prophet who had foretold Christ (Jude 14–15). Augustine had commented upon Jude's reference to Enoch, but his emphasis was on the apocryphal status of the Jewish apocalyptic book, *First Enoch*.[38] For Frechulf, the canonicity of this ancient apocrypha was not in question, yet equipped with the *Antiquities*, the historicity of Jude's verses could be addressed. "It is patently clear," he reasoned, "that the origin of letters began with the very first man himself," and that the practice of writing was then kept alive amongst his descendants. This was readily discernible "from the words of Josephus" (*ex verbis Iosepphi*): it was noted again that Seth's sons as well as their relative, Jobal, had "inscribed onto columns those things which they wisely discovered through the study of celestial objects and the other arts."[39] Enoch, in other words, very well could have prophesied about Christ because the means of preserving and transmitting prophetic utterances were available to the earliest generations of humans. By linking the "origin of letters" to "the first man," Frechulf may have stretched Josephus' claim that Adam was

36 Frechulf, *Histories*, I.1.9 [37/73], 36–7.

37 Frechulf, *Histories*, I.1.11, 39–40.

38 Augustine, *De civitate Dei*, XV.23, eds. Bernard Dombart and Alfonse Kalb, CCSL 48 (Turnhout: 1955), 491 and XVIII.38, 633; Isidore, *Chronica*, ed. Jose Carlos Martin, CCSL 112 (Turnhout: 2003), 12–13; Bede, *De Temporum Ratione*, c. 66, 15, ed. Jones, CCSL 123B (Turnhout: 1977), 465–66.

39 Frechulf, *Histories*, I.1.12 [6/12], 40–41: "Liquido namque claret ab ipso exordium litterarum primo homine coepisse, qui adhuc supererat quando filii ac nepotes sui in studio sapientiae feruebant. Vnde etiam filii Seth cum Iobal eorum consanguineo in columnis ea quae sapienter de disciplina caelestium rerum adinuenerunt cum reliquis artibus conscripserunt, sicut superius ex uerbis Iosepphi declaratum est."

a prophet a little far, but nevertheless the example shows him directly applying historical knowledge derived from the *Antiquities* to the interpretation of a New Testament passage in a quite original way.

The authority of Josephus carried such weight that it not only could be used to complement patristic luminaries such as Augustine, but also could be drawn on alone in order to testify to the truth of Scripture.[40] According to Genesis 9:28–29, Noah died 350 years after the Flood, at the age of 950. Should any of his readers balk at what seemed like an impossibly long life, Frechulf referred them to "an assertion of Josephus," which he thought would assuage any doubt. Josephus had warned his own, very different, readers against comparing their own lifespans with those of the ancients. The first men, he explained, were much better nourished, and God had had granted them extra-long lives so that they could make discoveries in astrology and geometry.[41]

5 The *Antiquities* as a Repository of Ancient Knowledge

To convince his first-century readers of the truth of the Jewish Scriptures, Josephus had sporadically name-checked Hellenistic authorities who had touched on biblical subjects.[42] For example, he followed up his argument regarding the lifespans of the antediluvians by adding that "all those amongst the Greeks and barbarians who wished to write about the ancient past bear witness to my words (*dicti mei*)." The names of some twelve Greek historians then followed.[43] With minimal editorial intervention, Frechulf recycled Josephus' synopsis: swapping the first person of the *Antiquities* for a third-person

40 Frechulf also contrasted Josephus and Jerome: *Histories*, I.1.27 [1/5], 52; I.1.37 [3/19], 67–68; and (implicitly) I.1.42 [33/40], 74. Each of these passages concern place names and onomastics, another exegetical use to which Josephus was put, but which I do not consider here: see also I.1.28 [1/5], 58; I.3.12 [134/36], 181; I.3.17 [146/48], 194.

41 Frechulf, *Histories*, I.1.26 [4/14], 51–2.

42 James E. Bowley, "Josephus's Use of Greek Sources for Biblical History," in *Pursuing the Text: Studies in Honor of Ben Zion Wacholder on the Occasion of his Seventieth Birthday*, eds. John Kampen, John C Reeves, and Ben Zion Wacholder (Sheffield: 1994), 202–215.

43 Josephus, *Antiquities* I, 107–8, 137: "testes autem dicti mei sunt omnes qui antiquitatem apud Graecos et barbaros conscribere maluerunt. nam et Manethon, qui descriptionem fecit Aegyptiorum, et Berosus, qui Chaldaica deflorauit, et Mochus et Estius, ad haec et Hieronymus Aegyptius qui Phoenica[m] disposuerunt concordant cum meis dictis. Esiodus quoque et Ecateus et Hellanicus et Acusilaus et inter hos Ephorus et Nicolaus in historiis suis memoriam faciunt antiquorum annis mille uiuentium. de his itaque, sicut singulis gratum est, ista considerent."

pronoun, he evoked these ancient writers to lend added support to Josephus' claim and ultimately to reinforce the veracity of Genesis.[44]

Frechulf incorporated eight of the thirteen instances in which Josephus referenced ancient Hellenistic writers in order to confirm, contextualize, or expand upon events recorded in Scripture.[45] This was one way by which he was able make good his stated goal of revealing "the truth of history" from the collected record of Christian and pagan historiography. Readers of the *Histories* would thus learn, for example, that Berossus the Chaldean (*c.* 330–250 B.C.) had reported that in Armenia, where the ark allegedly ended up after the Flood, people recycled pieces of it as bitumen and talismans;[46] that Hecataeus of Adbera (*c.* 300 B.C.) had written about the patriarch Abraham;[47] that Menander and Dius (both c. 2nd century B.C.) recounted the deeds King Hiram of Tyre, who supplied Solomon with timber and gold for constructing the Temple and exchanged riddles with him;[48] or that *Eroditus Alicarnes*, that is, Herodotus of Halicarnassus (d. 425 B.C.), had mentioned that King Shishkah of Egypt had despoiled the Temple in the reign of Rehoboam.[49] Although Frechulf is unusual amongst early medieval compilers in incorporating references to so many of these Greek historians, their names would also have been known to whomever had a copy of the *Antiquities* to hand. Indeed, in the Latin West knowledge of these writers would have depended primarily, if not exclusively, on Josephus.

References to these ancient authorities have implications not only for appreciating how Frechulf utilized Josephus but also for the original Latin translation of the *Antiquities* from which all extant codices descended. For instance, Frechulf noted what a certain "*Manaseas Damascensus* said about

44 Frechulf, *Histories*, I.1.26 [14/21], 52. For example: "Testes autem isti [i.e. Josephus] sunt omnes…" instead of "Testes autem dicti mei sunt omnes…"

45 Frechulf, *Histories*, I.1.25 [14/28], 50–51; I.1.26 [14/21], 52; I.1.28 [45/52], 60; I.2.5 [24/35], 98; I.3.4 [9/32], 163–4; I.3.5 [21/28], 166; I.3.6 [14/18], 167–8; I.3.17 [52/69], 190–1. Two further examples concern post-biblical history: I.4.27 [6/14], 263–64 and I.5.8 [38/46], 302.

46 Frechulf, *Histories*, I.1.25 [17/20], 50–51.

47 Frechulf, *Histories*, I.2.5 [24/35], 98.

48 Frechulf, *Histories*, I.3.4 [9/32], 163–64.

49 Frechulf, *Histories*, I.3.5 [21/32], 166. In general, see Scott G. Bruce, "The Dark Age of Herodotus," *Speculum* 94 (2019): 47–67; Eran Almagor, "'This is What Herodotus Relates': the Presence of Herodotus' *Histories* in Josephus," in *Brill's Companion to the Reception of Herodotus in Antiquity and Beyond*, eds. Jessica Priestly and Vasiliki Zali (Leiden: 2016), 83–100, and in the same volume, Felix Racine, "Herodotus' reputation in Latin literature from Cicero to the 12th century," 193–212. Although Frechulf drew on Josephus' reference to Herodotus, he excised Josephus' critique of his historiographical predecessor.

the Flood."[50] In the Greek text of the *Antiquities*, Manaseas, a late 3rd-century B.C. Hellenistic author, was distinguished from Nicolaus of Damascus, a historian connected to the court of Herod the Great. The Latin translation, however, confused them for a single person, and there was no other version against which to check it; the error became baked into the entire textual tradition.[51] Likewise, at the end of book four, Frechulf included a comment from a historian of the successor kingdoms of Alexander the Great who had written about how Jewish custom had led to Ptolemy I Soter's capture of Jerusalem: this historian was called *Ovidius Sabatarcides*, a corruption of "Agatharchides of Cnidus," a 2nd-century Greek writer.[52] Frechulf not only inherited such garbled names but also introduced his own distortions. In connection to the drought that struck the Kingdom of Israel in the reign of King Achab, it was noted that a certain Menander had mentioned it *in gestis Valithiorum regis*.[53] Other Carolingian manuscripts of the *Antiquities* read *in gestis itha valithiorum regis*, that is, with some slight re-shuffling, "the deeds of Ithobal, King of the Tyrians."[54]

Whether drawing directly on Josephus' authority in the *Antiquities*, or indirectly on the various, and occasionally garbled, examples of ancient historical knowledge, Frechulf's objective was the same: to provide the historiographical framework within which Scripture could be placed and to affirm the truth of the Bible. Frechulf's inclusion of the names of an array of otherwise lost Hellenistic historians hints at a parallel function. The *Antiquities* presumably would have delighted and intrigued readers such as Frechulf, firstly, by evoking the otherness of a Greek and non-Christian historiographical world from which they were temporally, culturally, and linguistically far removed; and second, because the many strange and unfamiliar names encountered therein were shown to have written about Old Testament subjects that were intimately

50 Frechulf, *Histories*, 1.1.26 [22.3], 51.

51 Josephus, *Antiquities* 1, 93, 135. For a study of mistranslation in Josephus, see Mark Anderson, "Mistranslations of Josephus and the Expansion of Public Charity in Late Antiquity," *Early Medieval Europe* 25 (2017): 139–161.

52 Frechulf, *Histories*, 1.4.27 [7/14], 263–64. See brief note in Andre Vernet, "Langue et littérature latines du Moyen Âge," *Annuaires de l'École pratique des hautes études* (1959): 61–62, at 61.

53 Frechulf, *Histories*, 1.3.6 [15], 167.

54 E.g. the early 9th-century manuscript linked to Fulda: Paris Bibliothèque nationale de France, lat. 5052, fol. 108v. Same reading in the early 9th-century copy made at Lorsch (Vatican City, Bibliotheca Apostolica Vaticana, Pal. lat. 814, fol. 100vb). See also Staatsbibliothek Bamberg Msc. Class. 78, fol. 102v ("et menander ingestis, itauali thiorum regis"), in Flavius Josephus (Latin trans.), *Antiquities*, 8, 324, eds. R.M. Pollard, J. Timmermann, J. di Gregorio, M. Laprade, and J.-F. Aubé-Pronce, 2013–2019 (https://www.latinjosephus.org/).

familiar to educated Christians. One wonders what Carolingian and later audiences would have thought when confronted with names like *Manaseas Damascensus* or *Ovidius Sabatarcides*, but it may be that the historical identity of such writers was irrelevant: Josephus' status as a trusted transmitter of ancient tradition was what mattered.

6 Comparing Chronologies: Josephus and Christian Chronography

In Part I, Frechulf presented a narrative of events as well as an overview of world chronology, which comprised the lengths of the reigns of preeminent secular rulers and of Jewish leaders, as well as the passage of time between the world's creation of Christ's Incarnation. The central source for Frechulf's chronological data was Jerome's Latin translation and continuation of Eusebius's *Chronicle*, a source which itself originally had made use of the Greek text of the *Antiquities*. Equipped with the Latin Josephus, Frechulf collated it with the *Chronicle* and noted discrepancies between Christian and Jewish chronographic traditions, not in order to give preference for one over the other but rather to highlight differences of opinion.

These discrepancies took several forms. Frechulf noted when Eusebius-Jerome and Josephus gave contrasting regnal years for imperial rulers. For example: "Xerxes succeeded his father, Darius to the kingdom [of the Persians] and ruled for twenty years, [but] according to the *History* of Josephus, twenty-five years."[55] Differences were also found in biblical chronology. There was, Frechulf stated, some "historiographical disagreement" (*dissonantia … historiarum*) over the length of Solomon's reign: "while it is read in the Book of Kings that he ruled for forty years, Josephus asserts [that he ruled for] eighty years and the whole span of his life was ninety-four years."[56] Throughout Part I, furthermore, Frechulf also offered summaries of how much time had passed between important moments in Old Testament history for which Josephus often was at odds with Eusebius-Jerome.

An illuminating example of this latter sort of discrepancy can be seen in the first book of Part I, when Frechulf provided a summary of the time that had elapsed between Noah and Abraham. Here Josephus was not contrasted

55 Frechulf, *Histories*, I.4.4 [1.2], 215: "Xerses Dario patri in regnum succedens annis XX imperauit, iuxta Historiam Iosepphi XXV."

56 Frechulf, *Histories*, I.3.5 [2/5], 165: "Hic namque dissonantia oritur historiarum in annis uidelicet regni Salomonis, dum XL eum regnasse annis in libris legitur Regum, Iosepphus autem LXXX et omne uitae illius spatium ann. XCIIII fuisse adserit."

but rather grouped together with Eusebius and the chronographic tradition he represented:

> Count the number of years throughout each age, from the birth of each father to the birth of their subsequent son, and you will find 292 years, that is from, the birth of Abraham until the Flood. However, the blessed Jerome, in [his translation and continuation of] Eusebius's *Chronicle*, Orosius, at the beginning of his [*Seven Books of History Against the Pagans*], and even Josephus, who diverged from [Jerome and Orosius] only by a little, perceived the [total] number of years differently: counting backwards from Abram's birth to the global Flood, they say 942 years are to be found.[57]

Although not stated explicitly in the text, the two totals given here reflect the Hebrew and Septuagint versions of Genesis.[58] Frechulf's source for the latter was most likely Bede, who, in his *De temporum ratione* (written 725), had strongly advocated following the Hebrew Truth, available in Latin in the form of Jerome's Vulgate. Bede had taken issue with Eusebius for following the Hebrew Bible in listing ten generations between Shem and Abraham against the eleven of the Septuagint, while failing to adjust the Septuagint's inflated chronology.[59] Frechulf, however, was unperturbed by this critique. He maintained a clear preference for Eusebius' counts: earlier he had stated, in line

57 Frechulf, *Histories*, I.1.35 [10/18], 67: "Ergo a nativitate Abrahae, qui decimus fuit a Noe (sicut nunc declaratum est), supputa per singulas aetates numerum annorum ab ortu uniuscuiusque patris usque ad ortum subsequentis filii, et inuenies CCXCII annos, id est a natiuitate Abrahae usque ad diluuium, quamuis beatus Hieronimus in Chronica Eusebii atque Orosius in prima fronte suorum librorum, a quibus etiam Iosepphus non longe exorbitat, aliter sentiant in numero annorum, dicentes a natiuitate Abrahae usque ad totius orbis diluuium inueniri supputando retrorsum annos DCCCCXLII." See also Allen's note on this passage in the "Complementary Notes" to his edition, at 731–32.

58 See however Frechulf, *Histories*, I.1.35 (*capitula*), 25: "De numero annorum a diluvio usque ad nativitatem Abrahae, et quod aliter Iosepphus atque Septuaginta interpretes sive Eusebius sentiant quam ut in Hebraicaa veritate contineatur (Concerning the number of years from the Flood to the birth of Abram, which Josephus, the Seventy Translators and Eusebius perceive differently from what is contained in the Hebrew Truth) ."

59 Bede, *De temporum ratione*, c. 66, 1693, 468 and Bede, *Letter to Plegwin*, 6, ed. C.W. Jones, CCSL 123C (Turnhout, 1980), 619–20. For translations of both these sources, see F. Wallis, *Bede: The Reckoning of Time* (Liverpool: 1999), 163 and 408 respectively; and see further 353–66 for an overview of Bede's use of chronology. Note that according to the Septuagint, there were in fact 1072 years between Noah and Abraham: 942 plus the 130 years of Cainan, who marked the eleventh generation.

with the *Chronicle*, that 2242 years separated Adam from the Flood, without any reference to the 1656 found in the Vulgate and emphasized by Bede.[60]

In the context of the total years between the Flood and Abraham, Frechulf's appeal to the authority of Josephus is especially intriguing because the Latin text of the *Antiquities* offered him two options. On the one hand, it was clearly stated that Abraham "was born in the 292nd year after the Flood," which matched the Vulgate/Bedan figure.[61] On the other hand, in the list of who-begat-whoms that immediately followed this statement, a total of 993 years is implied, and it was seemingly this that caught Frechulf's attention.[62] This latter figure, while distinct from the 942 years of Eusebius-Jerome, was nevertheless not so far off from it ("*non longe exorbitant*"). In a previous chapter of this volume, Paul Hilliard notes that Bede deployed the authority of Josephus to argue in favor of following the "Hebrew Truth," in opposition to Eusebius.[63] Frechulf, by contrast, presented Josephus as an authority who, more or less, reflected the Septuagint-derived total presented by Eusebius-Jerome and reiterated by Orosius. This has implications for the Carolingian reception of Bede and the Hebrew Truth, but they fall outside the scope of this contribution.[64] What needs to be stressed here is that Josephus' authority was firmly enough entrenched amongst early medieval intellectuals that Bede in the 8th century and then Frechulf in the 9th could deploy his name to bolster different systems of reckoning biblical chronology.

7 Prophecy and Providence: Daniel

The threads of Frechulf's reception of Josephus I have been sketching come together in the third book of the *Histories*. Here the divergent chronologies

60 Frechulf, *Histories*, I.1.25 [1/4], 50.

61 Josephus, *Antiquities*, I, 148, 142: "Hic [Abraham] autem decimus quidem est a noe. Secundo uero anno et nonagesimo super ducentos post diluuium natus est."

62 Josephus, *Antiquities*, I, 149–50, p. 142. Counting up the age at which each father had his first son, we find: 70 + 120 + 132 + 130 + 130 + 134 + 130 + 135 + 12 = 993. The difference between Josephus' stated and implied totals is also reflected in the Greek tradition: Josephus, *Jewish Antiquities*, *Books I–III*, trans. H. St. J. Thackery, Loeb Classical Library 242 (Cambridge, MA: 1998), 72–73, note h; see also Ben Zion Wacholder, "Biblical Chronology in the Hellenistic World Chronicles," *The Harvard Theological Review* 61/3 (1968): 451–81 at 453, n. 3.

63 See Hilliard above.

64 Johannes Heil, "'Nos nescientes de hoc velle manere – We Wish to Remain Ignorant about This': Timeless End, or: Approaches to Reconceptualizing Eschatology after A.D. 800 (A.M. 6000)," *Traditio* 55 (2000): 73–103.

of Eusebius-Jerome and Josephus were underscored, primarily in relation to the construction, destruction and rebuilding of the Temple at Jerusalem.[65] Towards the end of the book, Frechulf offered a historical overview of King Nebuchadnezzar II (r. 605-562 B.C.), the Babylonian ruler who ordered the First Temple to be razed to the ground, which was drawn from the Hellenistic authorities preserved in the *Antiquities*: in his Indian history, a certain Megasthenes had described Nebuchadnezzar as mightier than Hercules, and Berossus, although his name was edited out, reported that, among other things, the king had renovated Babylon and constructed its famed hanging gardens.[66] Lastly, Frechulf's limited treatment of the Book of Daniel, the events of which were set in the days of Nebuchadnezzar and his Babylonian successors, affirms his stated intention not to re-narrate Scripture. Additionally, the role of Daniel also brings into focus the final aspect of Frechulf's engagement with Josephus I want to discuss: prophecy and its fulfilment.

Following Nebuchadnezzar's invasion of Judaea, Daniel was one of several boys taken back to Babylon (I.3.16). Frechulf then took the story through to the deportation of the rest of the Jewish population and the beginning of their seventy-year exile (I.3.17). Up until the captivity, *Antiquities* X was Frechulf's principal source. At this point, Josephus began his extended paraphrase of the Book of Daniel, from which Frechulf selected only the bits of narrative that did not overlap with Scripture. Thus, *Antiquities* X, 186–218, which corresponds to Daniel 1–4, was reduced to the barest of outlines:

> No Christian (*nemo fidelium*) can doubt that [during the captivity] those things which we read about Daniel and his companions wondrously took place in the presence of King Nebuchadnezzar, as did those things that befell Nebuchadnezzar, which the holy Daniel himself had predicted.[67]

What these wondrous deeds were, or what Daniel prophesied were glossed over: Frechulf assumed that his ecclesiastical readers already knew their Old Testament.

Cyrus the Great's siege of Babylon was the focus of Frechulf's next chapter (I.3.18), for which he combined two sources: Orosius' *Histories against the*

65 Frechulf, *Histories*, I.2.30 [6/21], 154; I.3.17 [37/51], 189–90; I.3.19 [29/41], 205–6.

66 Frechulf, *Histories*, I.3.17 [52/69], 190–91. Curiously, Frechulf not only edited out the name Berossus but also the fact that Babylon was the city Nebuchadnezzar had built.

67 Frechulf, *Histories*, I.3.17, 194: "Igitur ea quae de Danihele et sociis eius gesta mirabiliter apud regem Nabugodonosor legimus, tunc temporis fuisse nemo fidelium dubitare potest, siue etiam quae Nabugodonosori contigerunt et a sancto Danihele sibi sunt praedicta."

Pagans, whose focus was Cyrus's conquests, and the *Antiquities*, which presented the episode from the Babylonian perspective.[68] Regarding the latter, Frechulf again circumvented the portions of text that re-told Daniel. Having drunk from cups seized from the First Temple by his ancestor, Nebuchadnezzar, Balthasaar saw the proverbial writing on the wall, along with those "other things which thus are read, as they were held to have been truthfully written in the Book of Daniel" [= Daniel 5].[69] A few sentences later, after Daniel had been taken away by Darius the Mede, an otherwise unknown individual whom Josephus had claimed was a relative of Cyrus, Frechulf stated: "it is beyond doubt that those things which Daniel left behind in his writings took place," not least his prophecies regarding the fates of "the kingdom of the Greeks and the Persians and the rest, the foreknowledge of which he gained from God" [= Daniel 6 and 8].[70] The truthfulness of Daniel was repeatedly stressed, but the contents of the biblical book were only ever alluded to.

Frechulf's reasons for belaboring Daniel's veracity reveal themselves later in the *Histories*. Towards the end of Book 4, he devoted a chapter to the conquests of Alexander the Great. The narrative was drawn principally from Orosius, but Frechulf wove in a key passage from *Antiquities* XI about how Alexander, while campaigning in Asia Minor, paid a visit to Jerusalem. There he offered sacrifices at the rebuilt Temple and was shown the passage in the Book of Daniel, already alluded to by Frechulf, "in which it was written that a certain [ruler] of the Greeks would destroy the power of the Persians, and Alexander judged that it was he himself whom Scripture signified."[71] The remainder of the chapter – which returned to Orosius – recounted Alexander's victory over Darius III and the end of the Persian empire. Daniel's premonitions, underlined in the previous book, materialized in extra-scriptural history.[72]

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68 The switch between Orosius and Josephus was signalled: Frechulf, Histories, I.3.18 [71/73], 200: "Haec partim iuxta Orosii Historiam relata sunt. Secundum Iosepphi uero traditionem haec quae sequuntur ita se habent de successoribus Nabugodonosor atque destructione Babyllonis."

69 Frechulf, *Histories*, I.3.18 [90/93], 201: "Tunc itaque uidit de muro uenientem manum et in pariete quasdam syllabas scribentem, et cetera quae ita ut se habuerunt ueraciter in libro Danihelis scripta leguntur."

70 Frechulf, *Histories*, I.3.18 [103/107], 201: "Sub quo ea quae Danihel in suis reliquit scriptis contigisse haud dubium est, id est de his quae ab inuidis perpessus, ac ea quae de regno Grecorum seu Persarum et ceteris, quae Domino monente praescire meruit."

71 Frechulf, *Histories*, I.4.22, 248–49.

72 Frechulf included another of Josephus' episodes, in which a non-Jewish ruler reads Scripture and discerns himself within it: *Histories*, I.3.18 [108/112], 202, where Cyrus sees himself as having been predicted by Isaiah.

The Alexander episode reflected a central argument of Josephus. Daniel occupied a crucial place in the *Antiquities*: he was an especially important prophet, who not only predicted future events but also pinpointed when they would come to pass.[73] In Josephus' providential scheme, Daniel served to demonstrate that all history, sacred or otherwise, was managed by God. This was, of course, a basic perception of the past that continued to resonate with Josephus' Christian readers, including Frechulf. Yet, as an ecclesiastic, Frechulf read Josephus through a Christian interpretive lens; he thus viewed the Book of Daniel from a perspective shaped not by the arguments of the *Antiquities* but by patristic exegesis. In the Latin West, Jerome's *Daniel Commentary* (written c. 417) was seminal. Jerome stated clearly at the outset of his work that what made Daniel so important was not simply that he predicted the course of history, but that "none of the prophets had spoken with such clarity about Christ."[74]

After Alexander, Daniel next appeared in the *Histories* in the context of Christ. Between Books 5 and 7, Josephus was Frechulf's principal source for Jewish history through to the reign of Herod. Much of this was focused on episodes of internal Jewish conflict and the disastrous external interference it engendered, firstly by the Seleucids, not least Antiochus IV Epiphanes, and then the Romans. It was through the support of the latter that Herod was installed as king, an event of paramount importance within Christian sacred history. Since the 4th century, exegetes had identified in Josephus' account of Herod the fulfilment of two fundamental Old Testament prophecies – Genesis 49:10 and Daniel 9:26–27 – that together heralded the Incarnation of Christ and the destruction of kingdom and priesthood of the Jews. Frechulf devoted a chapter to these prophecies, the material for which he took from both Eusebius-Jerome's *Chronicle* and Jerome's *Daniel Commentary*, which itself depended on an earlier and otherwise lost commentary of Eusebius.[75] The authority of the prophets who predicted Christ's advent, however, had been announced much earlier in the *Histories*. Moses, as the inspired author of Genesis, was the focus of the distinctive first book of Part I. Daniel's prophetic status, as we

73 Josephus, *Antiquities*, X, 266–68, 276–80; XII, 322. See Steve Mason, "Josephus, Daniel, and the Flavian House," in *Josephus and the History of the Greco-Roman Period: Essays in Memory of Morton Smith*, eds. Fausto Parente and Joseph Sievers (Leiden: 1994), 161–91. More generally, Louis H. Feldman, "Prophets and Prophecy in Josephus," *Journal of Theological Studies* 41 (1990): 386–422.

74 Jerome, *In Danielem prophetam*, ed. F. Glorie, CCSL 75 A (Turnhout: 1964), 772: "nullum prophetarum tam aperte dixisse de Christo."

75 Frechulf, *Histories*, I.7.13, 402–05.

have just seen, was emphasized in Books 3 and 4; deep into Book 7, readers were informed that, regarding Christ's advent and the end of the Jews' special relationship with God, Daniel "long before had designated all these things through his prophesying."[76] In skirting over Josephus' paraphrases of Daniel, Frechulf not only was excising details with which he assumed his readers were already familiar, but also was planting in his excerpts from the *Antiquities* a Christian understanding of the Old Testament, the full significance of which was revealed by the Incarnation, a moment that held no value to Josephus.

8 Conclusions

The closer Frechulf got to the conclusion of Part 1, the more the Eusebian roots of his reception of Josephus stood out. Eusebius' scholarship fundamentally influenced his presentation of the beginning of Herod's reign, as we have just seen, but also its grisly end. The penultimate chapter of Part 1 began by celebrating Herod's impressive building works in his realm before charting his monstrous decline, which included the slaughter of his family and his advisors.[77] While the rise and fall of Herod matched Josephus' narrative arc, Frechulf bent it in a distinctly Christian direction. Having learned from the magi of Christ's birth, Herod ordered all boys under two to be murdered, an event transmitted in neither the *War* nor *Antiquities* but Matthew's Gospel (2:1–16); furthermore, in line with a verse from the Apocalypse of John (14:1), Frechulf put the number of the slain at a symbolically high 144,000. Although guilty of other heinous crimes, it was the massacre of the innocents that brought down God's wrath upon Herod, which manifested itself in a disease that painfully and fatally consumed his body.[78] By tying Herod's demise to both Matthew and the Apocalypse, Frechulf built upon an argument first laid out by Eusebius in the *Historia Ecclesiastica* while adding his own distinctive emphases.[79] In so doing, he also further integrated Josephus' writings into the fabric of Christian history.

76 Frechulf, *Histories*, 1.7.13 [23/24], 404: "Quae omnia ita se habentia longe prius prophetando designauit Danihel propheta."

77 Frechulf, *Histories*, 1.7.18, 421–29. In general, Jan Willem van Henten, "Herod the Great in Josephus," in *A Companion to Josephus*, 235–46.

78 Frechulf, *Histories* 1.7.18 [125/162], 427–8.

79 Eusebius-Rufinus, *Historia Ecclesiastica*, in *Eusebius Werke, vol. 2: Die Kirchengeschichte*, eds. Eduard Schwartz and Theodor Mommsen (Berlin: 1999), 1.8.1–4, 63–64.

Due to the influence of Eusebius, the connection between the *Jewish War* and *Antiquities* and the early church was embedded in the canon of Christian history. The first book of Frechulf's second volume of *Histories* – which reproduced the core of Eusebius's narrative – reflects this. Part I, on the other hand, stands out as perhaps the first, and certainly the most extensive, early medieval attempt to show how Josephus' writings, in conjunction with the other components of the historiographical canon, could be used to tell the pre-history of the Christian church.[80] Put differently, this was the history of the world between Adam and Christ, set out in such a way as to parallel how the world of the Old Testament was superseded by the New. While the end of this narrative had its basis in 4th- and 5th-century Christian historiography, Frechulf had to create the bulk of what proceeded it from the resources he had to hand. To this end, his reception of the Latin Josephus remains extraordinary.

Yet despite the exceptional richness of Frechulf's borrowings, it is important to remember that some of the exegetical uses to which he put Josephus reflect wider Christian intellectual engagement with the *scriptor Antiquitatum*.[81] Frechulf, for example, was by no means the first to mine the *Antiquities* for chronological data: as noted above, Bede provides a particularly insightful pre-Carolingian antecedent to how Josephus' account of Old Testament history could be compared with the Christian chronographic tradition. Frechulf's reception can also be fruitfully situated in relation to the biblical scholarship of Hrabanus Maurus, which we encountered briefly at the outset of this contribution. To be sure, Hrabanus and Frechulf often ought to be differentiated. For instance, Hrabanus excerpted most heavily from *Antiquities* VII–IX (i.e., the Monarchic Period), whereas Frechulf largely overlooked these books; the abbot of Fulda, moreover, used these books to provide commentary on biblical history, more so than to narrate extra-biblical history.[82] Hrabanus' commentary on Maccabees, written around 834, presents a notable exception. At the end of his treatment of 1 Maccabees, he included a potted history of Judaea from John Hyrcanus I (d. 104 B.C.) through to the destruction of the Second Temple in A.D. 70.[83] To craft this, Hrabanus had recourse to very same sources as Frechulf: on the one hand, *Jewish War* I, seemingly also in a codex where it

80 On this idea, see Raffaele Savigni, 'Storia universale e storia ecclesiastica nel *Chronicon* di Freculfo di Lisieux,' *Studi medievali* 28 (1987): 155–92.

81 See, for example, Richard Matthew Pollard, "Reading Josephus at Vivarium? Annotations and Exegesis in Early Copies of the Antiquities," *Florilegium* 30 (2013): 103–142.

82 Cantelli, *Opera*, vol. 3, 1470–71.

83 Hrabanus Maurus, *Commentaria in libros Machabaeorum*, PL 109, cols. 1125–1256, at 1213C–1224D.

appeared as *Antiquities* XIII,[84] together with Pseudo-Hegesippus; on the other hand, the Latin translations of Eusebius's *Chronicle* and *Ecclesiastical History*.[85] Although the particular combination of source extracts was different that Frechulf's, Hrabanus' reading of Josephus was similarly conditioned by the Eusebian narrative of Jewish decline and fall, through which the Christians became God's new chosen people.

Beyond the Carolingian period, Josephus continued to be a vital source for historically minded exegetes and exegetically minded historians. In the 12th century, the universal chronicler Otto of Freising (d. 1158), when writing about the extremely old age of Noah, still drew on Josephus and name-checked the very same Hellenistic historians transmitted in the *Antiquities*, such as Berossus the Chaldean and the garbled *Manaseas Damascensus*, to testify to the truth of Scripture.[86] Around half-a-century before Otto, Frutolf of Michelsberg (d. 1103), another universal chronicler, not only drew both on Josephus but also recycled Frechulf's own reading of the *Antiquities*. When sketching the scientific achievements of some of the antediluvians, Frutolf repeated verbatim Frechulf's note that

> it was patently clear that the origin of letters began from the first man himself, and survived up until [the Flood], when his sons were engaged in the study of wisdom.[87]

Unlike in the *Histories*, Frutolf did not connect this statement to the Epistle of Jude, but nevertheless his phrasing still indicates that, on the one hand, Josephus' writings remained fundamental to Christian efforts to chart world history; and, on the other hand, that Frechulf played a role in showing later readers and writers how the Latin Josephus could be used to make sense of the past.

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84 This can be inferred from the fact that earlier in the commentary Hrabanus had excerpted from *Antiquities* XII, but once the coverage of the book came to an end, he switched to the *War* I; an explicit reference to *Antiquities* XVIII [= XIX] (col. 1220D) was indirect, from Eusebius-Rufinus.

85 Cantelli, *Opera*, vol. 1, 338–345 and vol. 2, 939–940.

86 Otto of Freising, *Chronica sive Historia de duabus civitatibus*, I, 3, ed. A. Hofmeister, MGH SRG 45 (Hanover and Leipzig: 1912), 39–40.

87 Frutolf's Chronicle appears as *Ekkehardi Uraugiensis Chronica*, ed. G. Waitz, MGH SS 6 (Hanover: 1844), 33–211, at 35: "Ex supra dictis autem liquido claret, exordium litterarum ab ipso primo homine coepisse, qui adhuc supererat, quando filii eius in sapientiae studio fervebant." Cf n. 39, above. See also Heimo of Bamberg, *De decurso temporum*, ed. H. M. Weikmann, MGH QQ zur Geistesgesch. 19 (Hanover: 2004), 46.

CHAPTER 5

Josephus in Carolingian and Post-Carolingian Historiography

Justin Lake

The Carolingian Era (here defined as the period from the coronation of Pippin III in A.D. 751 to the deposition of Charles the Fat in 887) witnessed a revolution in learning and literacy.[1] In a wide-ranging series of reforms, Pippin and his son Charlemagne emphasized the acquisition of grammatically correct Latin for clergy and monks based on the model of authoritative written sources.[2] The impact of the Carolingian program of educational *renovatio* on the copying and dissemination of manuscripts can hardly be overstated. E.A. Lowe's *Codices Latini Antiquiores* and its later addenda contain about 1800 manuscripts from the 6th through 8th century,[3] whereas surviving manuscripts copied in the 9th century number about 8,500 (and the number produced may have been closer to 50,000).[4] Latin manuscripts of Josephus follow the same

1 See, e.g., Rosamond McKitterick, *The Carolingians and the Written Word* (Cambridge: 1989); John J. Contreni, "The Carolingian Renaissance: Education and Literary Culture," in *The New Cambridge Medieval History, vol. 2, c. 700–900*, ed. Rosamund Mckitterick (Cambridge: 1995), 709–757. For literacy and administration see, *inter alia,* Janet Nelson, "Literacy in Carolingian government," in *The Uses of Literacy in Early Medieval Europe*, ed. Rosamond McKitterick (Cambridge: 1990), 258–296.

2 *Admonitio Generalis,* MGH Capit. 1, ed. A. Boretius (Hanover: 1883), 52–62, esp. c. 72, 59–60; *Epistola de litteris colendis,* MGH Capit. 1, 79.

3 E.A. Lowe, *Codices Latini Antiquiores: A Palaeographical Guide to Latin Manuscripts Prior to the Ninth Century,* 12 vols. (Oxford: 1934–1971). For addenda see Bernhard Bischoff and Virginia Brown, "Addenda to *Codices Latini Antiquiores,*" *Mediaeval Studies* 47 (1985): 317–366; Bernhard Bischoff, Virginia Brown, and James J. John, "Addenda to *Codices Latini Antiquiores,*" *Mediaeval Studies* 54 (1992): 286–307.

4 Bernhard Bischoff, *Katalog der festländischen Handschriften des neunten Jahrhunderts* (*mit Ausnahme der wisigotischen*), vol. 1 (Wiesbaden: 1998); Bischoff, *Katalog der festländischen Handschriften des neunten Jahrhunderts* (*mit Ausnahme der wisigotischen*), vol. 2 (Wiesbaden: 2004); Bischoff, *Katalog der festländischen Handschriften des neunten Jahrhunderts* (*mit Ausnahme der wisigotischen*)*, vol. 3: Padua-Zwickau, aus dem Nachlaß hg. von Birgit Ebersperger* (Wiesbaden: 2014). For an overview of all three volumes see David Ganz, "Carolingian Manuscripts: The Verdict of the Master," *Francia* 42 (2015): 253–274. For the estimate of 50,000, which originated with Bischoff, see McKitterick, *The Carolingians and the Written Word,* 163.

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pattern.[5] Indexing Franz Blatt's catalogue of manuscripts of the Latin Josephus with the more recent surveys of Richard M. Pollard, and David Levenson and Thomas Martin, one finds only one manuscript from before the 8th century,[6] but fourteen complete manuscripts and over a dozen fragments that contain either or both of the *Antiquities* and the *Jewish War* from the 9th century.[7] Pollard has counted three surviving manuscripts of the *De excidio* attributed to Hegesippus written before the year 700, and eleven from the 8th-9th centuries.[8]

By the early 9th century copies of Josephus' *Antiquities* and the *Jewish War,* and the *De excidio* of Hegesippus*,* were widely distributed across the major centers of learning in the Carolingian empire.[9] Manuscripts of Hegesippus were copied at Reichenau (Karlsruhe, Badische Landesbibliothek, MS Aug. perg. LXXXII), Saint-Gall (St. Gall, Stiftsbibliothek 627),[10] Fleury (Bern, Burgerbibliothek, MS 180),[11] Laon (Laon, MS 403),[12] and Saint-Amand (Koblenz, Landeshauptarchiv, Best. 701 Nr. 759,22),[13] among other centers. Both the *Jewish Antiquities* and the *Jewish War* were copied at the abbey of San Silvestro di Nonantola in the 9th century (Cologny, Fondation Martin Bodmer, Cod. Bodmer 98, and 99).[14] The *Jewish War* and the *De excidio* were copied at St. Gall (St. Gall, Stiftsbibliothek 626),[15] the first half of the *Antiquities* and the *Jewish War* were copied at Micy in the second third of the 9th century (Bern,

5 For the Latin manuscripts of Josephus see Blatt, 25–116; Richard Matthew Pollard, " The *De Excidio* of 'Hegesippus' and the Reception of Josephus in the Early Middle Ages," *Viator* 46.2 (2015): 65–100; Pollard, "Flavius Josephus: The Most Influential Classical Historian of the Early Middle Ages," in *Writing in the Early Medieval West: Studies in Honour of Rosamond McKitterick*, eds. Elina Screen and Charles West (Cambridge: 2018), 14–35, esp. 33–35; David B. Levenson and Thomas R. Martin, "The Ancient Latin Translations of Josephus," in *A Companion to Josephus*, 322–344.

6 Milan, Biblioteca Ambrosiana, Cimelio MS II/1 (s. VI–VII), catalogued as # 1 in Blatt, 26.

7 Blatt, 25–116, esp. 107–108.

8 Pollard, "The *De Excidio*," 80–81 and n. 96.

9 Pollard, "The *De Excidio*"; Rosamond McKitterick, *History and Memory in the Carolingian World* (Cambridge: 2001), 45–47.

10 Blatt, *Latin Josephus,* 113; Bischoff, *Katalog,* vol. 3 no. 5823.

11 Bischoff, *Katalog*, vol. 1 # 549. See also Otto Homburger, *Die illustrierten Handschriften der Burgerbibliothek Bern. Die vorkarolingischen und karolingischen Handschriften* (Bern: 1962), 62.

12 Bischoff, *Katalog*, vol. 2 no. 2110.

13 Bischoff, *Katalog*, vol. 1, no. 1862.

14 Bischoff, *Katalog*, vol. 1, nos. 960 and 961; Elisabeth Pellegrin, *Manuscrits latins de la Bodmeriana* (Cologny-Genève: 1982), 188–191, 192–194.

15 Blatt, 113.

Burgerbibliothek, MS Lat. 50),[16] and Books I–XII of the *Antiquities* were copied at Fleury during the same period (Bern, Burgerbibliothek, MS Lat. 118).[17]

Carolingian library catalogues similarly show that Josephus and Hegesippus had become standard authors. Lorsch held both the *Jewish Antiquities* and the *De excidio* of Hegesippus.[18] The oldest catalogue from Reichenau, dating to 822, contains the *Antiquities* and the *Jewish War* (listed as "eight [*sic*] books of the Jewish Captivity") of Josephus,[19] as well as the *De excidio* (here attributed to Saint Cyprian).[20] Saint-Bertin had "the history of Josephus."[21] A 9th-century catalogue from Saint-Gall contains "The five books of Hegesippus excerpted from the history of Josephus,"[22] and in his history of the abbey, Ratpert reports that during the abbacy of his predecessor Grimalt (841–872), Hartmut of Saint-Gall (who served as abbot from 872–883) acquired the *Antiquities*.[23] Fulda had a copy of the *Antiquities* in the ninth century,[24] and there is a ninth-century fragment of Hegesippus from Saint-Amand.[25] The *Gesta abbatum Fontanellensium,* a history of the monastery Saint-Wandrille dating from the mid-9th century, reports the books given to the monastic library by Abbot Ansegis (823–833), which include "one volume of the histories of Josephus."[26]

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16 Bischoff, *Katalog,* vol. 1, 105, no. 497; Blatt, no. 50, 47. It also contains an early author portrait. See Homburger, *Burgerbibliothek,* 91–93.

17 Blatt, no. 42, 44; Bischoff, *Katalog*, vol. 1, no. 537.

18 Gustav H. Becker, *Catalogi bibliothecarum antiqui* (Bonn: 1885), 83: *Historia Iosephi lib. XI in uno codice* and *Iosippi lib. V de eodem historiographo*; 115, no. 541: *libri antiquitatis Iosephi historiographi a XII libro usque in XIX;* and see the 10th-century catalogue at 120: [80]: *Historia iosephi lib. XI in uno codice;* [*81*]*: Isyppi lib. V de eodem historiographo in uno cod*; see also Bischoff, *Lorsch im Spiegel seiner Handschriften,* Münchener Beiträge zur Mediävistik und Renaissance Forschung (Munich: 1974).

19 Paul Lehmann, *Mittelalterliche Bibliothekskataloge Deutschlands und der Schweiz, vol. 1: Die Bistümer Konstanz und Chur* (Munich: 1918), 247: *Historiae antiquitatum Josephi Libri XI in codice I. Item eiusdem Judaicae captivitatis libri VIII in codice I*. Cf. Becker, 8, no. 140.

20 Lehmann, *Mittelalterliche Bibliothekskataloge,* vol. 1, 246: *Item eiusdem de bello Judaico libri V excerpti de historia Josephi.* Cf. Becker, 7, no. 112.

21 Becker, 183, no. 127.

22 Lehmann, *Mittelalterliche Bibliothekskataloge,* vol. 1, 76: *Egesippi libri V excerpti de historia Joseppi, volumen I.* The catalog is found in St. Gallen, Stiftsbibliothek, Cod. Sang. 728, which can be consulted on-line at http://www.e-codices.unifr.ch/en/list/one/csg/0728.

23 Ratpert, *Casus sancti Galli,* ch. 9, in *Ratpert, St. Galler Klostergeschichten* (*Casus sancti Galli*), ed. and trans. Hannes Steiner, MGH SRG 75 (Hanover: 2002), 210: *Iosephi de antiquitate Iudaica libros XII in volumine I.*

24 Hessische Landesbibliothek, Fragm. 24. See Bischoff, *Katalog*, vol. 1 no. 1338; McKitterick, *History and Memory,* 190.

25 Koblenz, Landeshauptarchiv, Best. 701 no. 759, 22. See Bischoff, *Katalog,* vol. 1 no. 1862.

26 Pascal Pradié, ed. and trans., *Chronique des abbés de Fontenelle* (*Saint-Wandrille*) (Paris: 1999), 164: *Historiarum Iosephi volumen I*); Schreckenberg, *Die Flavius-Josephus-Tradition*, 112.

The marginalia found in some of these manuscripts demonstrate the interest with which Josephus and Hegesippus were read in the 9th century and show us scribes and/or readers trying to work out the details of Jewish history, while keeping straight the confusing genealogy of the Hasmoneans and the line of Herod the Great. A representative example is Karlsruhe, Badische Landesbibliothek, Aug. perg. 82, a well-worn manuscript of the *De excidio* copied at Reichenau in the second quarter of the 9th century (and attributed, as per the Reichenau catalogue, to Saint Cyprian), which is filled with marginal notations.[27] Some serve, in lieu of chapter headings, to orient the reader (e.g., fol. 3r: "Narratio doli Aristobili in nece Antigoni" ["the account of the treachery of Aristobulus in the murder of Antigonus"]). Others alert the reader to the moral import of the story, as for example a note at the beginning of the reign of Alexander Jannaeus (103–76 B.C.) that the cruelty of his reign matched that of his predecessor(s).[28] Several draw attention to details about names and places in the text apt to confuse the reader if they are ignored. For example, one note reminds the reader that the city of Sebaste was previously called Samaria (fol. 2v: *Sabastea quae prius Samaria*), another that the fortress of Antonia was previously called "Sidebaris" (a mistake for the correct Baris).[29]

Numerous authors of the 9th century show an acquaintance with the works of Josephus. In a letter to the monk Altwin written in 837, Lupus of Ferrières cites a passage from Book Seven of the *Jewish War* referring to the "star in the shape of a sword" that stood over Jerusalem for a year before it fell in 70 A.D.[30] Alcuin refers to the *Jewish Antiquities* to answer a question about the gender of the Latin word *rubus* ('bramble-bush') posed by Charlemagne in a letter to Angilbert of Saint-Riquier.[31] Hrabanus Maurus frequently cited Josephus in his biblical commentaries.[32] And in his *Liber contra Iudaeos*, Bishop Amulo of Lyons noted with disapproval that certain people even preferred reading Josephus to the scriptures.[33] In sum, the *Antiquities* and *Jewish War* of Josephus and the *De excidio* were texts that were frequently copied, widely

27 Bischoff, *Katalog*, vol. 1, no. 1618.

28 fol. 4r: *NB:* "Alexandrum similem superiori in regno crudelitate."

29 fol. 7r: "Nomen castri antea Sidebaris, postea Antonia vocatum."

30 *ep.* 20, ed. Ernst Dümmler, MGH Epist. 6 (Berlin: 1925), 28.

31 *ep.* 162, ed. Ernst Dümmler, MGH Epist. 4 (Berlin: 1895), 261. See Schreckenberg, *Die Flavius-Josephus-Tradition,* 110.

32 Schreckenberg, *Die Flavius-Josephus-Tradition,* 115–117.

33 Amulo of Lyons, *Epistola, seu Liber contra Iudaeos ad Carolum regem,* c. 24, *PL*, vol. 116, col. 157A: "breviter admonendum putamus, ut etiam libri Josephi, et Philonis … quia eos nonnulli nostrorum nimis admirari solent, et plus etiam quam divinas litteras legere delectantur, non multum sequendi existimentur." See Pollard, "The *De Excidio,*" 65–66.

disseminated, carefully read, and familiar to the literate elite of the Carolingian world. For all that, they had a limited impact on the writing of history itself. Annalistic historiography, which flourished during the 9th century, dispensed with the need for literary models, and none of the major narrative historians of the period – Paul the Deacon, Einhard, the Astronomer, Thegan, Nithard, and Notker Balbulus – draw on the Josephan corpus to any appreciable extent. The sole exception to this neglect among Carolingian historiographers is Frechulf of Lisieux (d. 850/852), who wrote a universal chronicle in two books, the first dealing with the period from Creation to A.D. 609, and the second continuing it to the year 829.[34] As a complement to Graeme Ward's analysis of Frechulf's use of Josephus in this volume, I offer some further, principally stylistic, remarks here about how Frechulf adapted the Josephan corpus to his text.

In the first place, Frechulf drew heavily on all three primary Josephan texts: the *Jewish Antiquities,* the *Jewish War,* and the *De excidio*,[35] though the latter two are only used as sources down to the death of Herod the Great in 4 B.C.[36] Naturally, the painstaking work of assembling and organizing excerpts from the relevant texts in chronological order may have been done by assistants, and in his edition of Frechulf, Michael Allen notes that "the original exemplars for the parts must have been large, difficult hodge-podges."[37] It is noteworthy that Frechulf chose to use both the *Jewish War* and Hegesippus; this suggests a level of sensitivity to the differences between two texts that recounted the same series of events. The reasons for switching between these two sources is usually clear: one sometimes contains information lacking in the other (typically this is the case with the *Jewish War,* but also occasionally with Hegesippus), and Frechulf seems to have been particularly drawn to the more overt moralizing of Hegesippus.

The combination of Josephus and Hegesippus is intelligent, if not always seamless. In his account of the succession to the priesthood after the death of Judas Maccabaeus in 161 B.C., for example, Frechulf begins by excerpting from

34 Michael Allen, ed. *Frechulfi Lexoviensis episcopi opera omnia,* CCCM 169–169A (Turnhout: 2002).

35 For Frechulf's use of Josephus/Hegesippus see Allen, vol. 169, 204, 206, 213–214, 282–285, 292, 315–316; Pollard, "Flavius Josephus," 31. The Latin *Jewish War* is cited from *Flavii Iosephi … Opera Quaedam* (Basel: J. Froben, 1524). The revision attributed to Hegesippus (hereafter cited as *De excidio* to avoid confusion) is edited in Ussani (see Abbreviations). See Graeme Ward's chapter in this volume.

36 A citation of Book Two of the *Jewish War* at *Historiae* 2.1.15 is extracted from Rufinus's translation of Eusebius's *Historia Ecclesiastica.* See Allen, *Frechulfi Lexoviensis episcopi opera omnia,* vol. 169A, 467.

37 *Frechulfi Lexoviensis episcopi opera omnia,* vol. 169, 56.

Hegesippus, since that author provides a capsule summary of the character and achievements of Judas's brother Jonathan not found in the Latin Josephus.[38] In mid-sentence he then switches sources to incorporate an idea from the *Jewish War* absent from the *De excidio*, namely that Jonathan consolidated power by allying himself with the Romans, but in doing so fails to eliminate a now-superfluous *que,* turning the resulting sentence into an anacoluthon.[39] The same sort of mid-sentence transition occurs at the beginning of the subsequent account of the reign of Jonathan's brother Simon. At the outset Josephus says that Simon was "determined to conduct affairs forcefully" (*"fortiter regendis rebus intentus"*). To this Freculf appends the summary of Simon's nature found in Hegesippus ("not green but already proven through the triumphs of his fraternal band – would that he had been as astute at avoiding deception as he was physically powerful and proven in the arts of war"), rearranging and editing the clauses to make them fit together, this time with more success.[40] Thereafter, Frechulf uses the *Jewish War* as the primary source for the reign of the Hasmoneans, though he switches occasionally to Hegesippus, as, for example, with the story of Crassus's disastrous expedition against the Parthians in 53 B.C., where the *De excidio* is the slightly more judgmental source.[41]

In addition to a general editorial policy of combining sources as needed, Frechulf occasionally modified the grandiloquent prose of Hegesippus to make it clearer to his audience. This tendency is not without interest when we consider that he dedicated his history to Judith, the second wife of Louis the Pious (r. 814–840), with the explicit intention that it be used in the education

38 *De excidio* 1.1.4, 5: "huic successit Ionatha non minus virtutis similitudine par quam naturae germanitate. qui post multa in bellicis rebus opera, in rebus sacris officia, quae circa templi purificationem spectata et probata sunt … necatus est." The awkwardness of the phrase *naturae germanitate* led Frechulf to rephrase it, with indifferent success, to *natura germanitatis.* See *Historiae* 1.6.2, 319.

39 Frechulf, *Historiae* 1.6.2, 319–320: "Qui post multa in bellicis rebus opera et sacris officia, quae circa templi purificationem spectata ac probata sunt, suamque potentiam Romanorum amicitia conroboravit."

40 Frechulf, *Historiae* 1.6.2, 320: "Simon autem fortiter regendis rebus intentus, non rudis, sed iam probatus fraternae societatis triumphis, utinam et ipse tam perspicax ad fraudes cavendas quam manu validus bellandique actibus satis spectatus." Cf. *Bellum Iudaicum* 1.2, 597: "Simon autem fortiter regendis rebus intentus, Zoazen quidem, & Ioppen, & Iamniam capit; *De excidio* 1.15, 5: post hos rei summam Simon recepit, ad quam non rudis sed iam probatus fraternae societatis triumphis adpropinquavit, utinam et ipse tam perspicax."

41 Frechulf, *Historiae* 1.7.2, 369. Cf. *De Excidio* 1.21.2–3, 33–34; *Jewish War* 1.6, 609. There is little to choose between the two accounts, but a phrase like "nec longum laetatus ubi transmisit Euphraten, exercitum amisit et ipse extinctus est" in Hegesippus was enough to tip the balance in this case.

of her son Charles the Bald, and that he made this dedication at a politically sensitive time.[42] This was clearly a work designed to be read and learned from, rather than a showpiece for the author's stylistic virtuosity. In his account of the Maccabean revolt, for example, which is adapted from both the *Antiquities* and the *De excidio*, Frechulf does away with the chiasmus and homeoteleuton of the Hegesippean phrase "*nec solum ipse temperavit a sacrilegio regalique edicto non obtemperavit*" ("not only did [Mattathias] abstain from sacrilege and refuse to obey the royal command"), replacing it with the more pedestrian "*non solum se temperavit a sacrilegio regalique edicto*" ("not only did he abstain from sacrilege and the royal command").[43] In the description of Mattathias that follows he removes the potentially confusing phrase "*potentiam prosperi actus dederunt,*"[44] and in an effort to simplify Hegesippus' "*perseveravit in viro usque ad exitum vitae studium defensionis et pietatis vigor*" ("a zeal to protect and a vigorous piety persisted in this man [Mattathias] down to the end of his life") he actually creates an anacoluthon: "*Et perseveravit in viro usque ad exitum vitae habens studium defensionis et pietatis*" ("and he/it? persevered in the man down to the end of his life, maintaining a zeal for protection and piety").[45]

Frechulf prized Josephus as a historical source, not as a model for how to write history. Beginning in the late 10th century, however, the *De excidio* suddenly became prominent as a stylistic model for a web of interconnected historians writing in northern France. The reasons for this development are not entirely clear, but the fact that speeches and descriptive passages were a particular focus of attention suggests that the *De excidio* may have been used as a model text for students of rhetoric.[46] The two authors of this period most associated with the use of Hegesippus as a stylistic model – Richer of Saint-Remi

42 Namely, after Louis the Pious's creation of a separate kingdom for Charles at the assembly at Worms in 829, which provoked the ire of Charles's half-brothers, particularly Lothar, whose own future realm was diminished as a result.

43 Hegesippus, *Jewish War* 1.1.2, 4. Cf. Frechulf, *Historiae* 1.6.1, 317.

44 *Jewish War* 1.1.2. It is potentially confusing because of the lack of an indirect object, and because *prosperi actus* could initially be understood as a genitive modifying *potentiam.* The equivalent expression in the Latin Josephus (Froben, 596) is clearer: "secundis … rebus potentiam nactus."

45 Hegesippus, *Bellum Iudaicum* 1.1.2, 5. Cf. Frechulf, *Historiae* 1.6.1, 318.

46 It is interesting that the only definitive echo of Josephus/Hegesippus in the *Saxon History* of Widukind of Corvey also refers back to a speech. See P. Hirsch and H.-E. Lohmann, eds. *Widukindi monachi Corbeiensis rerum gestarum saxonicarum libri tres,* MGH SRG, vol. 60 (Hanover: 1935), at 1.2, 4–5: "Caeterum gentem antiquam et nobilem fuisse non ambigitur, de quibus et in contione Agrippae ad Iudaeos in Iosepho oratio contexitur, et Lucani poetae sententia probatur." The speech of Agrippa (the great-grandson of Herod) to the Jews referred to here is found at *Jewish War* 2.16, 684–685, and *De excidio* 2.9, 145–157.

and Aimoin of Fleury – were students of famous and innovative schoolmasters who placed considerable emphasis on the formal study of dialectic and rhetoric.

Richer, a monk at the monastery of Saint-Remi at Rheims, wrote a four-book history of the West Frankish kings from 888 to 995, with annalistic continuations to 998.[47] The *Historia,* which survives only in the author's autograph manuscript, is dedicated to Gerbert of Aurillac, who served as schoolmaster at the cathedral school of Rheims from 972 to 980 and again from 984 to 989/991, and as archbishop from 991–996, and covers in some detail the controversies surrounding Gerbert's contested election to the see of Rheims in 991.[48] Richer clearly viewed Gerbert as an intellectual mentor and may well have been his student at the cathedral school of Rheims. The *Historia* contains a famous description of Gerbert's curriculum, including his novel use of teaching aids such as the abacus, the monochord, and the armillary sphere.[49] Gerbert was famous in his own day for reviving the study of the mathematical arts of the *quadrivium,* but equally important were his contributions to the study of rhetoric.[50] He was the first to teach the commentary on Cicero's *De inventione* by Marius Victorinus at Rheims, and he acquired manuscripts of Cicero's *De oratore,* Quintilian's *Institutio oratoria,* and the *Declamationes maiores* of pseudo-Quintilian.[51]

Gerbert's interest in classical rhetoric had a powerful impact on Richer, and the pages of the *Historia* are filled with testimonies to the power of persuasive speech. One of the most striking features of the *Historia* (and one of the

47 Hartmut Hoffmann, ed. *Richeri Historiarum libri IIII,* MGH SS 38 (Hanover, 2000). See also Jason Glenn, *Politics and History in the Tenth Century: The Work and World of Richer of Reims* (Cambridge: 2004); Justin Lake, *Richer of Saint-Rémi: The Methods and Mentality of a Tenth-Century Historian* (Washington, D.C.: 2013).

48 See Hartmut Hoffmann, "Die *Historien* Richers von Saint-Remi," *Deutsches Archiv für Erforschung des Mittelalters* 54 (1998): 445–532, at 447–55; Jason Glenn, "The Composition of Richer's Autograph Manuscript," *Revue d'histoire des textes* 27 (1997): 151–189; Glenn, *Politics and History,* 128–165, 285–300.

49 Richer, *Historia* 3.46–54.

50 For Gerbert's teaching see Patrizia Stoppacci, *Clavis Gerbertiana* (Florence: 2016); Pierre Riché, "L'enseignement de Gerbert à Reims dans le contexte européen," in *Gerberto, scienza, storia e mito: Atti del Gerberti Symposium (25–27 iuglio 1983)* (Piacenza: 1985); Uta Lindgren, *Gerbert von Aurillac und das Quadrivium: Untersuchungen zur Bildung im Zeitalter der Ottonen,* Sudhoffs Archiv, 18 (Wiesbaden: 1976); J. Lake, "Gerbert of Aurillac and the Study of Rhetoric in Tenth-Century Rheims," *Journal of Medieval Latin* 23 (2013): 49–85.

51 Lake, "Gerbert of Aurillac"; Hartmut Hoffmann, *Bamberger Handschriften des 10. und 11. Jahrhunderts,* MGH Schriften, 39 (Hanover: 1995), 22–30, 129–130, 134–5.

most aggravating for historians using it as a source) is the presence of dozens of freely invented speeches inserted at various points in the narrative. Such speeches were a convention of classical historiography,[52] but one that had largely fallen into abeyance in the early Middle Ages. Set-piece orations were not a standard feature of Merovingian or Carolingian historiography; where direct speech is found, it usually takes the form either of sermons and professions of faith or fictionalized conversations that derive from the techniques of oral storytelling.[53] Richer's speeches, on the other hand, were based on classical models – most importantly Sallust and Hegesippus – and inspired by the rhetorical curriculum that Gerbert had introduced at Rheims.

There are over two dozen textual echoes of Hegesippus in Richer, ranging from short phrases to extended borrowings.[54] In general, the *De excidio* serves as a model for two kinds of passages: speeches and descriptions (of battles, siege engines, diseases, funeral processions, geographical locations, etc.). The fatal illness of Winemar, for example, an assassin sent by Count Baldwin II of Flanders (879–918) to murder Archbishop Fulk of Rheims (882–900), is described using phrases from the miserable death of Herod,[55] while an account of the wounding of the West Frankish King Lothar (r. 954–986) at the siege of Verdun in 985 draws on the wounding of Agrippa at the siege of Gamala.[56] The funeral procession of King Lothar in 986 borrows a key phrase from the burial of Herod, but Richer is clearly not attempting to draw a comparison between the two kings. Lothar's funeral cortège, Richer writes, was greeted by everyone along the route with "equal affection" ("*pari … affectu*"), whereas in Herod's case everyone maintained an outward show of devotion ("*magno obsequio … universorum*"), "but not with equal affection" ("*sed non omnium pari affectu*"), since in reality their grief was a sham motivated by fear.[57]

The most significant borrowing from the *De excidio* occurs in the context of a speech of complaint (*conquestio*) delivered by Charles of Lotharingia,

52 See, e.g., F.W. Walbank, *Speeches in Greek Historians: The Third J.L. Myres Memorial Lecture,* in *Selected Papers: Studies in Greek and Roman History and Historiography* (Oxford: 1965); John Marincola, "Speeches in Classical Historiography," in *A Companion to Greek and Roman Historiography,* ed. J. Marincola (Malden, MA.: 2007), 118–132.

53 For the latter phenomenon see Joaquín Martínez Pizarro, *A Rhetoric of the Scene: Dramatic Narrative in the Early Middle Ages* (Toronto: 1989).

54 Hoffmann, *Historiae,* 319–320; Lake, *Richer of Saint-Rémi,* 232–233; 236–237.

55 *Historia* 1.18. Cf. *De excidio* 1.45.9, 124.

56 *Historia* 3.107. Cf. *De excidio* 4.1.3, 239.

57 *Historia* 3.110: "multo obsequio universorum parique affectu per tantum spatii deductus." Cf. *De excidio* 1.46.2, 128: "magno obsequio per tantum spatii deductus universorum sed non omnium pari affectu."

the younger brother of King Lothar, who had been dispossessed of the West Frankish throne when the magnates granted it to Hugh Capet instead after the death of Lothar's son Louis V in 987:

> In the meantime, Charles undertook a complaint before his friends and kinsmen with passionate intensity and roused them to come to his aid with his laments. With tears in his eyes he spoke: 'I see myself growing older, and with each passing day I am deprived of more and more of my patrimony. Hence, I cannot look upon my little ones, the seeds of an unfortunate father, without tears; for to them I am the source of griefs to come rather than future honors. I have been a most unhappy father, who was scarcely ever able to be present for his children.'[58]

This section of Charles's speech is adapted with minor changes from an address delivered by Herod after he has arranged for the deaths of Alexander and Aristobulus, his two sons by Mariamne.[59] Suddenly filled with regret at the murders he has perpetrated in his own household, Herod now tries to make provision for his grandchildren. As with the passage about Lothar's funeral cited above, it would be unwise to read too much into the relationship between the source and the secondary text here. These passages were clearly chosen for the aptness of their language, not to make an implicit comparison between Herod and either Lothar or Charles. Intertextuality in this case does not extend beyond the medieval historian's desire to endow his work with the stylistic virtues of an authoritative Latin text.

The *De excidio* was both a precious mine of language and a model for how to write narrative history for Richer. Even when he did not draw directly on its language, he borrowed certain techniques, e.g., the detailed description of siege engines, from the text. Hegesippus and Sallust provided a model for how narrative history should be written, quite apart from serving as a repository of useful words and phrases. The pattern of citations in the *Historia* suggests that Richer was familiar with the whole text of the *De excidio* (not just, for example,

58 *Historia* 4.14: "Interea K(arolus) apud amicos et cognatos motu gravissimo movebat querelam, atque in sui suffragium querimoniis excitabat. Qui lacrimis suffusus, 'video,' inquit, 'aetatem meam procedere, et me ipsum in dies patrimonii rebus exui. Unde nec sine lacrimis parvulos meos aspicere valeo, infelicis germina patris. Quibus potius auctor sum futuri doloris quam honoris. Satis infelix pater fui, qui natis adesse vix aliquando potui.'"

59 *De excidio* 1.42.3, 102: "denique congregatis et amicis et proximis suis quadam die lacrimis suffusus ora dicit ad eos: 'video mihi aetatem procedere et sine lacrimis aspicere non possum parvulos hos, infelicium germina patrum, quibus ego sum auctor doloris … satis infelix pater fui, avus esse debeo sollicitior.'"

the opening chapters of Book One) and that the speeches were accorded particular importance. It is reasonable to posit a link between Gerbert's emphasis on the importance of persuasive speech and his efforts to reinvigorate the study of rhetoric at Rheims, and the study of model speeches in the works of classical historians.

At the same time that Richer was writing his history of the West Frankish kings at Rheims, Aimoin of Fleury (c. 965-after 1008) was working on a similar project at the monastery of Saint-Benoît de Loire (Fleury) near Orléans. Aimoin was a prolific historian best-known today for his biography of his abbot, Abbo of Fleury, which includes a number of Abbo's letters and a first-hand account of his murder at the hands of the rebellious monks of La Réole in 1004.[60] He also wrote the second and third books of the *Miracula sancti Benedicti* (a history of the miracles worked by Saint Benedict at Fleury written in several stages),[61] and a now-lost history of Fleury's abbots.[62] At some point in the 990's Abbo commissioned from Aimoin a history of the Franks and their kings from their mythical Trojan origins down to the coronation of Pippin III in 751. This history, known today as the *Gesta Francorum,* was never finished – it breaks off in the middle of Book Four during the year 654 – but what was left is an elegant synthesis of Merovingian history drawn from the major written sources: Gregory of Tours' *Histories*, Fredegar, the *Liber Historiae Francorum,* the *Gesta Dagoberti,* etc.[63] Indeed, even though the project was abandoned,

60 For the *Vita* see Robert-Henri Bautier, Gillette Labory, et al., eds. *Vita et passio sancti Abbonis* in *L'abbaye de Fleury en l'an mil,* vol. 1: *Vie d'Abbon, abbé de Fleury,* Sources d'histoire médiévale 32 (Paris: 2004). For Abbo see Pierre Riché, *Abbon de Fleury: Un moine savant et combatif* (*vers 950–1004*) (Turnhout: 2004); Elizabeth Dachowski, *First Among the Abbots: The Career of Abbo of Fleury* (Washington, D.C.: 2008); Marco Mostert, *The Political Theology of Abbo of Fleury* (Hilversum: 1987).

61 *Les Miracles de S. Benoît,* Eugène de Certain, ed. Société de l'histoire de France (Paris: 1858). See also T. Head, *Hagiography and the Cult of Saints: The Diocese of Orléans, 800–1200* (Cambridge: 1990), 136–152 and *passim.*

62 *Vita Abbonis,* c. 16, 108; de Certain, *Les miracles de Saint Benoît,* 173.

63 Aimoin of Fleury, *Gesta Francorum*, ed. André Duchesne, *Historiae Francorum Scriptores coaetanei*, vol. 3 (Paris, 1641), 1–120; reprinted in Migne, *PL*, vol. 139 col. 627–798; Christiane Le Stum, *L'Historia Francorum' d'Aimoin de Fleury: Étude et édition critique. Positions des thèses* (Paris: 1976), which unfortunately has never been published. For historiography at Fleury more generally see Robert-Henri Bautier, "La place de l'abbaye de Fleury-sur-Loire dans l'historiographie française du IXe au XIIe siècle," in *Études ligériennes d'histoire et d'archéologie médiévales*, ed. René Louis (Auxerre: 1975), 25–33. The most important study of the *Gesta*'s sources and methods to date is Karl Ferdinand Werner, "Die literarischen Vorbilder des Aimoin von Fleury," in *Medium Aevum Vivum: Festschrift für Walther Bulst*, eds. Hans Robert Jauss and Dieter Schaller (Heidelberg: 1960), 69–103. See also Justin Lake, "Rewriting Merovingian history in the tenth century: Aimoin of Fleury's *Gesta Francorum,*" *Early Medieval Europe* 25 (2017): 489–525.

either because of Abbo's death, or because he had fallen out of favor with the *Gesta*'s target audience, King Robert II of West Francia, its quality was such that it was frequently copied and continued, and eventually became the basis for the *Grandes Chroniques de France,* the semi-official history of the French kings kept at the monastery of Saint-Denis from 1274 onward.[64]

Aimoin's work shares a number of features with Richer's: both writers betray anxiety about reproducing other people's words in their prologues; both begin their histories with geographical and ethnographical excursuses; both invent speeches for their characters; and both drawn upon Sallust and Hegesippus as their principal stylistic models. Indeed, the similarities between the two historians are striking enough to suggest that they may have been aware of each other's literary projects at the time of writing. The possibility is all the more likely when one considers the relationship between their patrons. Not only was Abbo of Fleury an intellectual peer of Gerbert who wrote copiously (including numerous pedagogical works) and won fame as a teacher,[65] he was also a political rival of Gerbert who argued against him at the synod of Saint-Basle, the council at which Gerbert's predecessor Arnulf was deposed as archbishop of Rheims and the path cleared for Gerbert to ascend to the see.[66] It is possible, therefore, to view the compositions of Aimoin and Richer as a reflection of the rivalry between their patrons.[67]

Aimoin's knowledge of Hegesippus (as with Richer, there is no evidence he knew the Latin *Jewish War* or the *Antiquities*) was thoroughgoing. The frequency with which snippets of the *De excidio* turn up in the *Gesta Francorum* shows that he did not simply mine Hegesippus for set pieces, but instead internalized its vocabulary and style.[68] Like Richer, Aimoin inserts freely invented orations at strategic points in his work. When the Frankish king Chlothar prays before a battle against his rebellious son Chramn and the Breton count Chanao, for example, he draws on Herod's address to the legate P. Quintilius Varus at the tribunal summoned to judge his treacherous son Antipater (*De*

64 For an overview of the Latin sources of the *Grandes Chroniques* see Gabrielle Spiegel, *The Chronicle Tradition of Saint-Denis: A Survey* (Brookline, Mass.: 1978).

65 See especially Riché, *Abbon de Fleury.*

66 See *Acta concilii Remensis ad sanctum Basolum,* ed. Ernst-Dieter Hehl, MGH Concilia, 6.2 (Hanover: 2007), 380–469, at 408.

67 See Eric Christiansen, *Dudo of St. Quentin: History of the Normans* (Woodbridge, UK: 1998), xx.

68 Werner, "Die literarischen Vorbilder," 72: "Eine Nachprüfung ergab, daß Aimoin nicht nur Bilder, Episoden, Deutungen dem Hegesipp entnahm, sondern daß er seinen Stil und seinen Wortschatz, seine ganze Latinität an der Sprache des Hegesipp gebildet hat."

excidio 1.44.6–7).[69] Different parts of this same speech later crop up in a complaint delivered by Clothild, the widow of Clovis, after the abduction of two of her grandsons. Following the death of her eldest son, Chlodomer, in battle, Clothild had taken it upon herself to raise Chlodomer's sons at Paris, but the boys' uncles, Childebert and Chlothar, sought to usurp their dead brother's kingdom and conspired to have their nephews killed. They dispatched messengers to Clothild asking that the boys be sent to them on the pretext that they were to receive their portion of the kingdom. After the boys were led away, however, another messenger arrived to inform Clothild that the boys were either to be tonsured or killed, and that the choice would be hers. In Gregory of Tours' original account of this episode Clothild speaks a single line in which she proclaims that she would rather see her grandsons dead than tonsured.[70] In Aimoin's *Gesta,* however, Clothild delivers a lengthy oration that draws both on Herod's address to Varus and his disingenuous lament over the deaths of Alexander and Aristobulus, the same speech Richer had drawn on for the complaint of Charles of Lotharingia:

> When she heard this, heaving up deep sighs from her breast, she groaned and spoke: "Now it is best for me to die with my sons. Pity is dead. Now indeed the time has come when even if everyone offers their counsel, they will find no remedy for this evil. This is a new type of wickedness, in which uncles seek the lives of their innocent nephews. I grieve, I profess, to have given birth to sons who are murderers of their kinsmen and could not even spare their own family. I say nothing of those whom a just allegation of maternal disaster had made hated. But in these [children] no cause for offense can be found, save for the fact that as sons of the king born in his realm, the portion of their inheritance that is owed to them is a source of envy. And so they die, a cause of grief to me and a benefit to them [their uncles]. But one may ask why they wish to kill them. He

69 *Gesta Francorum* 2.30, *PL*, vol. 139 col. 687A-C: "Etenim quod nulli iusto, maxime tibi omnium cognitori rerum, veniabilis Chranni nequitia possit videri satis certus sum … Et certe regnandi spem dederam, cum vivens tuendae ei Aquitaniae sollicitudinem mandaveram. Sed morantem non passus est, nec exspectavit regnum, nisi parricidio adipisceretur." Cf. *De excidio* 1.44.7, 114–115: "quod nulli iusto veniabils Antipatri nequitia possit videri, satis certus sum … dolui fateor quod hi quibus regni spem dederam … adversa me inproba machinarentur … cui successionis conpetitores ademeram, morantem non passus est. nec expectavit regnum, nisi parricidio adipisceretur."

70 *Decem libri historiarum* 3.18, eds. Bruno Krusch and Wilhelm Levison, MGH SRM, 1.1 (Hanover: 1951), 118: "Satius mihi enim est, si ad regnum non ereguntur, mortuos eos videre quam tonsus [sic]."

> should know that for the time being their death will redound to their benefit. Wretched am I, who was preserved so that these would be the fruits of my fertility, so that I might extend my unhappy breasts to those who would take away from me the dear tokens of my grandsons. I have become the source of your destruction, little ones, I who through my rash exhortations exposed your father to the risk of death. I have been a most unfortunate mother, and I wanted to be a more dutiful grandmother. As I saw myself growing older, I tried to look out for the interests of my grandsons in the future. And would that I had succeeded in doing so! But now an intolerable grief has snatched away from me those whom nature and mercy had increasingly commended to me."[71]

In addition to the works of Richer and Aimoin, the *De excidio* is used as a model in two historical works written in the early eleventh century in the diocese of Cambrai: The *Deeds of the Bishops of Cambrai* (*Gesta episcoporum Cameracensium*) and the *Life of Saint Autbert* (*Vita Autberti*). The *Gesta episcoporum Cameracensium* is a history of the diocese of Cambrai-Arras and its bishops in three books, commissioned by Bishop Gerard of Cambrai (1012–1051).[72] The main author, a canon of the cathedral of Saint-Mary at Cambrai, wrote the first two books, and part of the third, between 1024 and 1025; a second author made additions to the first two books and completed the third

71 *Gesta Francorum* 2.12, PL, vol. 139 col. 673D-674C: "Quo illa audito, alta trahens a pectore suspiria, ingemuit, et ait: 'Nunc mihi bonum est mori cum filiis meis. Mortua est pietas. Nunc profecto illud est tempus quo, si omnes sua dent consilia, huic malo remedium inveniant nullum. Novum hoc flagitii genus est, quo patrui innocentium appetunt vitam nepotum. Doleo, fateor, parricidas generasse me filios, qui non possent parcere parentibus. Sed de illis taceo quos justa allegatio maternae calamitatis exosos fecerat. Verum in istis nullae reperiuntur causae offensionis, nisi quod in regno natis regisque filiis, debita invidetur portio paternae hereditatis. Pereunt itaque ad dolorem mihi, ad fructum illis. At quaerat quis ut quid eos occidere velint. Cognoscat quia ad praesens ipsis mors eorum proficiet. Miseram me, quae ad hos fructus fecunditatis sum reservata, ut infelicia eis porrigerem ubera qui mihi chara nepotum auferrent pignora! Ego, infantuli, vestrae causa sum perditionis, quae inconsideratis persuasionibus patrem vestrum objeci periculis mortis. Satis infelix mater fueram, avia volui esse sollicitior. Videns mihi aetatem precedere, tentavi consulere post me nepotibus; atque utinam consuluissem! Sed nunc eos mihi quidem eripit intolerabilis aerumna, quos magis magisque commendaverat natura et misericordia.'"

72 *Gesta episcoporum Cameracensium*, ed. L.C. Bethmann, MGH SS, 7 (Hanover: 1846), 393–489.

sometime later, probably in the early 1050s.[73] The *Gesta* is a rhetorically ambitious work pitched in a high style. It begins not with an account of the founding of Cambrai, but of the origin of cities drawn from Book One of Cicero's *De inventione.* This is noteworthy because the *De inventione* was, along with the pseudo-Ciceronian *Rhetorica ad Herennium,* one of the two most important handbooks of Classical rhetoric in the Early Middle Ages. Both Gerbert of Aurillac and Abbo of Fleury had studied the *De inventione* and the commentary on it by the 4th-century polymath Marius Victorinus and must have used it to teach rhetoric.[74] If, as I suspect, one of the paths by which the *De excidio* came to be used as a model for the composition of histories around the first millennium was a renewed focus on discovery (*inventio*) as a branch of rhetoric, then the fact that familiarity with the *De inventione* goes hand-in-hand with a study of Hegesippus is important.

The anonymous author of the *Gesta episcoporum Cameracensium* was closely acquainted with Hegesippus, and he liberally sprinkles phrases from the *De excidio* throughout his work, a fact that has not previously been recognized. Of Julius Caesar, the author notes that he was "energetic in war and good in counsel, though it is not the task of the present work to consider how often he defeated the numberless forces of his enemies with a small band" – precisely the same words used to describe Judas Maccabaeus in the opening chapters of the *De excidio.*[75] Clovis's battle against the Alamanni, in which the Frankish king was driven to beseech the Christian god for aid, borrows heavily from an episode in Vespasian's siege of Jotapata in 67 A.D. – a scene that Richer also mined for material in his *Historia*.[76] The *Gesta*'s account of the persecution

73 Theo M. Riches, "The Function of the *Gesta Episcoporum* as Archive: Some Reflections on the *Codex sancti Gisleni* (MS Den Haag KB 75 F 15)," *Jaarboek voor Middeleeuwse Geschiedenis* 10 (2007): 7–46.

74 Lake, "Gerbert of Aurillac," 63–65.

75 *Gesta episcoporum Cameracensium* 1.2, 403: "Nam bello strenuus, consilio bonus, quam frequenter innumeras hostium copias parva manu fuderit, non est presentis persequi negotii. Cf. *De excidio* 1.1.3, 5: "qui bello strenuus, consilio bonus ac prae ceteris fide promtus quam frequenter innumeras hostium copias parua manu fuderit, persequi non est negotii praesentis."

76 *Gesta episcoporum Cameracensium* 1.6, 405: "Videns rex palantem exercitum, supra vim terroris virtutem animi gerens, prohibet trepidare milites, magisque in prelium accendit, ne tanti estimarent mortis periculum quam gloriae triumphum. Ipse itaque signifer revocans acies, primus equum in hostem egit, et clamore magno sequuti ceteri acriter dimicabant. Alemanni e contra viribus et numero prestantiores, quibus pro vita et patriae libertate res erat, coeperunt fortiter Francos urgere; alii sagitiis, alii telis, alii balistis cedentes confodere." Cf. *De excidio* 3.12.1, 205: "Exagitatus filius cucurrit ad patrem, sed ille supra vim vulneris virtutem animi gerens prohibet trepidare filium magisque in proelium accendit milites, ut iniuriam ducis ulciscerentur. ipse signifer revocabat exercitum

of the early Christians of Cambrai and Arras by unspecified pagans is taken almost verbatim from a lurid scene in the *De excidio* recounting the capture of the Temple by Pompey in 63 B.C. and the slaughter of its defenders – partisans of Aristobulus, son of Alexander Jannaeus – by the Roman troops and their Jewish allies, who supported Aristobulus' elder brother, Hyrcanus:

> As ruin threatened, some hurled themselves to their deaths, and others were consumed in the conflagrations of their fatherland. A few, however, managed to persevere towards the end in their duties and exhorted one another not to prefer the preservation of their own lives to the duties of their sacred religion. They would be conducting themselves rightly if they paid to piety what was owed to necessity. It was a fair thing to be permitted to be buried in the bosom of their fatherland. For what good would it do to escape and outlive their own faith? It would be more noble to die in the midst of devoted service. For it was a sacrilege for anyone to desert out of fear of danger; but to complete the sacrifice represented the triumph of a devout passion. The priests, therefore, garbed in their attire, were slaughtered amidst their sacrifices, and they lay on the ground amidst the corpses of the slain, still clad in their priestly garments.[77]

One of the sources of the *Gesta episcoporum Cameracensium* was the *Vita Autberti,* a biography of Saint Autbert of Cambrai-Arras (d. 674/5) commissioned by Gerard and written by a certain Fulbert, probably a canon of the cathedral of Cambrai, between 1015 and 1024/1025.[78] In the *Vita* a certain

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et ad muros cogebat, ipse in bellum ceteros adhortabatur, alii sagitiis alii telis alii ballistis hostem urguebant."

77 *Gesta episcoporum Cameracensium* 1.5, 404–405: "incumbentibus ruinis alii se precipitabant, alii patriae incendiis exurebantur; paucis tamen usque ad ultimum in suo munere perseverantibus, atque invicem se hortantibus, ne in posterioribus ponerent sacrae religionis officium, quam salutis presidium. Recte secum agi, si pietati impenderent, quod deberetur necessitati; pulcherrimum, si in patriae sinu sepeliri liceret. Quid enim iuvaret evadere, et superstitem vivere religioni? Preclarum potius commori pio muneri. Quod si quis, periculi metu, deserat, sacrilegium est; si quis impleat sacrificium est piae passionis victoria. Infulati itaque sacerdotes inter suas hostias immolabantur, et amicti sacerdotalibus stolis inter corpora occisorum humi iacebant." Cf. *De excidio* 1.17.1, 27; for the ablative absolute *incumbentibus ruinis* see *De excidio* 5.16 (the speech of Josephus to the defenders of Jerusalem).

78 See *Vita Autberti* in *Gerardi Cameracensis Opera*, eds. Steven Vanderputten and Diane J. Reilly, CCCM 270 (Turnhout: 2014), 94–127. This replaces the edition of Joseph Ghesquière, *Acta Sanctorum Belgii selecta,* vol. 3 (Brussels: 1785), 538–565. See Charles Mériaux, "Hagiographie et réforme à Cambrai au début du XIe siècle: La *Vita Autberti* et son auteur," in *Zwischen Niederschrift und Wiederschrift*, eds. Richard Corradini, Max

Landelinus, a young man of noble birth who had been handed over to Autbert to be raised in the Church, is convinced by his friends to abandon the strictures of his religious training and return to the secular world. The author's description of their efforts to persuade Landelinus begins by quoting almost verbatim a passage from Herod's speech to the citizens of Jerusalem after he has brought his son Alexander to trial before Caesar at Rome:

> But just as it tends to happen that every evil word easily infects the mind of its hearer, when frequent conversation and daily association pour their poison into the mind, then even where a serene way of life is found, nonetheless, just as a calm body of water surges up into swells when the winds blow upon it, so a good nature is upset by wicked habits.[79]

The author continues by drawing on the next speech in the *De excidio,* in which Alexander's father-in-law Archelaus speaks to Herod in an effort to extricate his son-in-law from danger:

> Indeed, youthful age is clearly vulnerable to trickery and is easily deceived when it is duped by the plots of untrustworthy men. Even old age is hardly immune from deception; for the wisdom of the aged is frequently circumvented and ensnared by clever plots. Therefore, if mature experience is often overthrown and cannot look out for itself, how is it surprising if a more immature age was incapable of protecting itself when it was being forcefully plied with such trickery?[80]

Diesenberger, and Meta Niederkorn-Bruck (Vienna: 2010), 335–352; Mériaux, *Gallia irradiata: Saints et sanctuaires dans le nord de la Gaule du haut Moyen Âge,* Beiträge zur Hagiographie 4 (Stuttgart: 2006), 349, and *passim.* The commissioning of the *Vita Autberti* by Gerard is mentioned at *Gesta episcoporum Cameracensium* 1.78, 430, where the author is named as Fulbert. On the identity of Fulbert see the introduction to the edition of the *Vita Autberti* in Vanderputten and Reilly, 79–81.

79 *Vita Autberti,* c. 4, 103: "Verum sicut solet fieri ut omnis sermo malus facile mentem audientis inficiat, tum assidua colloquia et diuturnus usus pestem animis infundere solent, etiam si morum tranquillitas sit, tamen sicut stagnum mite ventis exagitantibus in aestum assurgit, ita bona natura improbis moribus fluctuatur." Cf. *De excidio* 1.39, 82: "Nam cum omnis sermo malus facile mentem audientis inficiat, tum maxime adsidua conloquia et diuturnus usus pestem animis infundere solent, quae contagio quodam in mores cohabitantium cito transeat. etsi tranquillitas morum sit, tamen ut stagnum, mite licet, ventis exagitantibus adsurgere in aestus valet, ita bona natura inprobis monitoribus fluctuat."

80 *Vita s. Autberti,* c. 4, 103: "Patet certe fallaciae aetas iuvenilis, et facile decipitur, cum fraudulentorum insidiis circumvenitur. Vix etiam resistit dolis aetas senilis, nam et senum prudentia plerumque versutis circumventa insidiis inretitur. Ergo si maturior usus sepe

A much-condensed version of this story, absent any of the language from the *De excidio,* is found in an abridged version of Autbert's life contained in Book 1 of the *Gesta episcoporum Cameracensium*.[81]

All four of the post-Carolingian authors surveyed here are connected to one another. Richer and Aimoin were contemporaries whose patrons were prominent scholars and political rivals. Gerard of Cambrai, the patron and chief subject of the *Gesta episcoporum Cameracensium,* was brought to Rheims by Archbishop Adalbero (969–989) and educated there, probably by Gerbert of Aurillac.[82] Also at Rheims during this time was Gerard's friend Richard of Saint-Vanne (c. 970–1046), who served as precentor and dean of the cathedral of Rheims under Adalbero and went on to become a key figure in the monastic life of Lotharingia in the early 11th century.[83] Cambrai was in the archiepiscopal province of Rheims, and the author of the *Gesta* used the monumental *History of the Church of Rheims* written by the Rheims cathedral canon Flodoard (d. 962) as both a source and model.[84] There was traffic in both people and manuscripts between Rheims and Cambrai, and the use of Hegesippus as a model for speeches and descriptive passages may have come to Cambrai through the influence of Gerbert of Aurillac via Gerard, who was probably his student and who commissioned both the *Gesta episcoporum Cameracensium* and the *Vita Autberti.*

The use of the *De excidio* of Hegesippus as a model for speeches and descriptive passages coincides with the development of a new style of rhetorically inflected historiography in northern Francia in the late 10th century. There

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labefactatur neque sibi prospicere potest, quid mirum si aetas immaturior sibi adesse non potuit, quae tantis perurgebatur insidiis?"

Cf. *De excidio* 1.40.10, 91: "vix resistit dolis aetas senilis, plerumque tamen et senum prudentia circumscribentium versutiis inretitur. ergo si maturior usus saepe affectus est, quid mirum si aetas immaturior adesse non potuit sibi, cum insidiantium catervis perurgueretur?"

81 *Gesta episcoporum Cameracensium* 1.18, 409.

82 *Gesta episcoporum Cameracensium* 3.1, 465: "Hunc in puericia Albero Remensium archiepiscopus, pro consanguinitate et pro praediis quae ex parte matris in ipsa terra habebat hereditario iure tenendis, secum permissione parentum abduxit, et sub regula canonica degentem familiariter educavit." Adalbero had brought Gerbert to Rheims. See Richer, *Historia* 3.45.

83 Steven Vanderputten, *Imagining Religious Leadership in the Middle Ages: Richard of Saint-Vanne and the Politics of Reform* (Ithaca, NY: 2015).

84 Theo Riches, "The Changing Political Horizons of *gesta episcoporum* from the Ninth to the Eleventh Centuries," in Ludger Körntgen and Dominik Waßenhoven, eds. *Patterns of Episcopal Power: Bishops in Tenth and Eleventh Century Western Europe* (Berlin: 2011), 51–62, at 59.

seems to have been an upswing in interest in rhetorical *inventio* towards the end of the 10th century, as evidenced by the increased copying of the *De inventione* and *Rhetorica ad Herennium,* the new rhetorical treatise of Notker Labeo, and the ambitious educational programs undertaken Gerbert of Aurillac and Abbo of Fleury. Thus, it is not surprising that we see the re-emergence of speechwriting in medieval historiography develop hand in hand with this new educational emphasis. The *De excidio* was presumably preferred to the Latin *Jewish War* because of its more descriptively lurid and morally judgmental tone. For historians aiming to write in the mold of classical historiography the *De excidio* provided a rich source of speeches and descriptive passages to be copied, one that would continue to be drawn upon in the centuries to follow.

CHAPTER 6

Josephus and the First Crusade

Susan B. Edgington

The First Crusade (1095–1099) succeeded in its goal, the capture of Jerusalem from the Muslims. This conquest led to the establishment of the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem which maintained its hold on the Holy City until 1187, when it was captured by Saladin. The 12th-century crusaders therefore fought and subsequently lived in territories that the 1st-century Jewish historian and apologist, Josephus, had described in his two great historical works *Antiquities* and *Jewish War*, books that, as we have seen in the preceding chapters of this volume, circulated widely in Carolingian Europe and at the time of the crusades. Franz Blatt argued that it was the crusading movement which stimulated increased production of manuscripts of the Latin Josephus in northern France, Flanders and the Rhineland, that is, in regions that provided many crusaders and – he could have added – contemporary historians of the movement.[1] In this chapter the earliest histories of the First Crusade will be examined for evidence of use or knowledge of Josephan texts, with attention to the education and resources available to their authors and to their intended audience or readership.[2]

Josephan influence may be variously discerned in the texts: there are writers who referred to Josephus (or Hegesippus or Rufinus) explicitly, but there are others whose echoes are less defined. For example, Albert of Aachen's *Historia Ierosolimitana* contains an early instance of the 'vengeance theme' in the historiography of the First Crusade.[3] Susanna Throop has explored thoroughly the development of the idea during the 12th century.[4] The legend framed the destruction of Jerusalem by Titus in A.D. 70 as the Lord's vengeance for the Crucifixion. It had originated in Hegesippus and it evolved and accrued other material before appearing in written form in various vernaculars by the end of

1 Blatt, 15–16.

2 The focus is on histories written in western Europe in the first decades of the 12th century. Julian Yolles, in this volume, examines the use of Josephus in the 12th-century Latin East. This includes the later redactions of Fulcher of Chartres' *Historia* and William of Tyre's *Chronicon*.

3 Albert of Aachen, *Historia Ierosolimitana: History of the Journey to Jerusalem*, ed. and trans. Susan B. Edgington (Oxford: 2007); for discussion see below.

4 Susanna A. Throop, *Crusading as an Act of Vengeance, 1095–1216* (Farnham: 2011); eadem, "Vengeance and the Crusades," *Crusades* 5 (2006): 21–38.

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the 12th century.[5] The Old French poem, *La Venjance Nostre Seigneur*, was written around 1200 and at very much the same time the idea imbued the earliest of a cycle of crusading *chansons de geste*, *La Chanson d'Antioche*.[6] The appearance of the 'vengeance theme' in these later vernacular poems falls outside the scope of this chapter.

Before examining the contemporary Latin accounts individually for evidence of use or knowledge of Josephan texts, it is necessary to look at the corpus of works in question, for their patterns of interdependence will help to establish when knowledge of the Latin Josephus and/or Hegesippus first entered the accounts. The account by an anonymous participant in the crusade, *Gesta Francorum et aliorum Hierosolimitanorum*, has long been regarded as the foundation text, which it is in the sense that almost all other narrative accounts of the crusade were aware of it and drew upon it to different extents.[7] It is therefore fundamental to explore the question of authorship of the *Gesta Francorum*, in particular to try to establish whether he had a clerical education, which is likely to have exposed him to Josephan material. It is important, as well, to attempt to discern the writer's purpose and intended audience, which may also have influenced his use of sources.

For over a hundred years, editors of the *Gesta Francorum* accepted it as the work of a lay person, a Norman knight from southern Italy who set out on crusade with Bohemond of Taranto and after the capture of Antioch abandoned him to accompany the main army to Jerusalem.[8] This was accepted through most of the 20th century as the likely explanation for the author's straightforward and unadorned prose. In his discussion of the anonymous writer's style Heinrich Hagenmeyer identified borrowings from the Bible, especially the New

5 Throop, *Crusading*, 205.

6 *The Oldest Version of the Twelfth-Century Poem* La Venjance Nostre Seigneur, ed. Loyal A.T. Gryting *The University of Michigan Contributions in Modern Philolology* 19 (1952): 31; *La Chanson d'Antioche*, ed. Suzanne Duparc-Quioc, 2 vols. (Paris: 1977–78); *The Chanson d'Antioche: An Old French Account of the First Crusade*, trans. Susan B. Edgington and Carol Sweetenham (Farnham: 2011).

7 John France, "The Use of the Anonymous *Gesta Francorum* in the Early Twelfth-Century Sources for the First Crusade," in *From Clermont to Jerusalem: The Crusades and Crusader Societies 1096–1500*, ed. Alan V. Murray, International Medieval Research 3 (Turnhout: 1998), 29–42. France's diagram of "The Gesta Family" (p. 42) illustrates the complexity of the sources' relationships; it includes a number of less influential accounts of the crusade that will not be touched on in the discussion that follows.

8 This was the view of Hagenmeyer: *Anonymi Gesta Francorum et aliorum Hierosolymitanorum*, ed. Heinrich Hagenmeyer (Heidelberg: 1890), 21. The editors of the *Recueil* edition did not express a view since they dismissed the text as an abridgement of Peter Tudebode's: *RHC Occ* 3: 169–229 (text) and x–xii (introduction); see also below for Peter Tudebode.

Testament and the Psalms, but very few classical echoes, just single instances of resonances with Vergil, Statius, and Ovid. Significantly for our purpose, Hagenmeyer found even fewer post-classical references and citations.[9] Later editors largely agreed, for example, Louis Bréhier posited that the work was a collaboration by a layman and a cleric.[10] Overall, his analysis of the style concluded that it was very remote from classical Latin and closer to the Western vernaculars Italian and French.[11] Beatrice Lees concluded her discussion of the work and its author, rather gushingly:

> If he uses the first person, it is always the first-person plural, not the 'editorial we', but the symbol of the body corporate. He sinks the individual in the cause; he tastes the joy of a common interest and of organized common action. Above all, he is in touch with reality. 'He writes his Latin', says Hagenmeyer, 'just as he was accustomed to think in his Italian-Norman idiom.' It is this honest provincialism, which the later polite editors condemned as rusticity, which makes his work precious. He describes in simple language what he sees, not what other people expect him to see, and therefore 'he being dead yet speaketh'.[12]

Rosalind Hill accepted that the author was "a layman and a fighter" who perhaps dictated his memoir to a clerk.[13] It was in 1993 that Colin Morris demonstrated that the author of the *Gesta Francorum* was a much more sophisticated writer than this and almost certainly a cleric.[14] This anonymous clerk deliberately wrote a story of the events of the crusade that was rooted in vernacular culture and used an unembellished, paratactic style of Latin that was suited to a less educated audience. To suit the same audience, Morris reasoned, "There

9 *Gesta Francorum*, ed. Hagenmeyer, 38–9.

10 *Histoire anonyme de la Première Croisade*, ed. and trans. Louis Bréhier (Paris: 1924), vi: "Le premier chapitre, rempli de citations bibliques et qui a les allures d'un sermon, laisse supposer dans la rédaction l'intervention d'un clerc." Bréhier's idea of "multiple or at least dual authorship" was endorsed by August C. Krey, "A Neglected Passage in the *Gesta* and Its Bearing on the Literature of the First Crusade," in *The Crusades and Other Historical Essays presented to Dana C. Munro by His Former Students,* ed. Louis J. Paetow (New York: 1928), 57–78, at 78.

11 *Histoire anonyme*, ed. Bréhier, xx.

12 *Anonymi Gesta Francorum et Aliorum Hierosolymitanorum*, ed. Beatrice A. Lees (Oxford: 1924), xvii.

13 *Gesta Francorum et aliorum Hierosolimitanorum: The Deeds of the Franks and the other Pilgrims to Jerusalem*, ed. R.B. Mynors and trans. Rosalind Hill (Edinburgh: 1962), xiii–xiv.

14 Colin Morris, "The *Gesta Francorum* as Narrative History," *Reading Medieval Studies* 19 (1993): 55–71.

is no direct quotation of classical authors, nor any evidence of a solid reading in them, although there may be a few phrases which had been conveyed through grammar-books."[15] Hence we should not expect learned references to the works of Josephus or Eusebius and indeed there is none.

The same reasoning about the purpose and audience of the *Gesta Francorum* has been developed by Carol Sweetenham, who argues that the lexis and syntax of the work, together with its deployment of anecdotal material, are appropriate to a text intended for performance.[16] This is an attractive thesis, for the intent to appeal to a popular lay audience would explain so much about the style of the work and the absence of classical (or post-classical) allusions or references. It may also account for the way the work was treated by three Benedictine authors in the first decade of the 12th century. A copy of the *Gesta* evidently reached northern France during the early years of the 12th century, and there it was seized upon by the three authors: Robert the Monk, Baldric of Bourgueil, and Guibert of Nogent.[17] All three were inspired to recount the story of the "liberation" of Jerusalem by the Christian armies; however, in the *Gesta Francorum* they were confronted by what was indubitably an eye-witness account of the crusade, but one written in a way that they found unacceptable. Robert called it "uncertain and unsophisticated in its style and expression;" Baldric deplored the "little book" that was his source as "excessively rustic," adding that the author "had woven a true tale, nevertheless, but because of the unsophisticated style of the book his noble material became worthless, and its uneducated and unpolished perusal immediately put more simple readers off it;" while Guibert criticized it more harshly as "woven out of excessively simple words, often violating grammatical rules," and claimed that "it may often bore the reader with the stale, flat quality of its language."[18] These three writers

15 Morris, "The *Gesta*," 57. In a note, Morris pointed out that all Hagenmeyer's examples of classical borrowings fall short of being quotations.

16 Carol Sweetenham, "2000 Cows and 4000 Pigs at One Sitting: Was the Gesta Francorum written to be performed in Latin?" in *The Medieval Chronicle 13*, eds. Erik Kooper and Sjoerd Levelt (Leiden: 2020), 266–288.

17 The three authors' intentions are discussed by Jonathan Riley-Smith, *The First Crusade and the Idea of Crusading* (London: 1986). For a challenge to the generally accepted view that the three authors used the *Gesta Francorum*, see Carol Symes, "Popular Literacies and the First Historians of the First Crusade," *Past and Present* 235 (2017): 37–67.

18 *The* Historia Iherosolimitana *of Robert the Monk*, eds. Damien Kempf and Marcus G. Bull (Woodbridge: 2013), 3; *Robert the Monk's History of the First Crusade: Historia Iherosolimitana,* trans. Carol Sweetenham, *Crusade Texts in Translation* 11 (Aldershot: 2005), 75. *The* Historia Ierosolimitana *of Baldric of Bourgueil*, ed. Steven Biddlecombe (Woodbridge: 2014), 4; *Baldric of Bourgueil, "History of the Jerusalemites": A Translation of the* Historia Ierosolimitana, trans. Susan B. Edgington,

will be discussed, with particular attention to features of their rewriting of the *Gesta Francorum* that demonstrate a familiarity with the Latin Josephus.

Robert the Monk is only slightly less anonymous than the author of his exemplar. The little we know about him is gleaned entirely from the content of his *Historia Iherosolimitana*. The tentative conclusion of the editors of the recent edition of Robert's *Historia* is that he "was simply a monk of St-Remi" who wrote it when he was posted to one of the abbey's priories within the diocese of Reims, possibly Sénuc. Damien Kempf and Marcus Bull estimate that the work was completed around 1110.[19] Like the author of the *Gesta*, Robert adopted a story-telling style that was influenced by early *chansons de geste*.[20] However, Kempf and Bull point out that he also frequently quoted the Bible and he was much influenced by biblical style.[21] They also perceive a solid grounding in classical texts, although references to them were less common than biblical quotation and allusion. This may have been because Robert was writing "in a fairly small and remote priory at Sénuc rather than with the benefit of immediate access to St-Remi's famously rich library."[22] This is one possible explanation for the lack of Josephan references: that Robert simply did not have access to texts of the Latin Josephus. However, another hypothesis is that, as in the case of the *Gesta Francorum* itself, Robert had in mind a wider audience, less well versed in patristic and post-classical literature. His anecdotal style hints at the same conclusion. It is also noteworthy that Robert the Monk's *Historia* was widely disseminated and in unparalleled numbers: over eighty copies are extant, dating from the 12th to the 16th centuries.[23] We shall look later at two poetic accounts of the crusade that used his work.

The two other "improvers" of the *Gesta Francorum*, Baldric of Bourgueil and Guibert of Nogent, although they were Robert's contemporaries and had similar backgrounds in Benedictine monasticism, shed a brighter light on the availability and perceived relevance of Josephus' works in Latin. Two possible reasons are that both eschewed Robert's populist approach to the narrative

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introduction by Steven J. Biddlecombe (Woodbridge: 2020), 40. Guitberti Abbatis Sanctae Mariae Novigenti, *Historia quae inscribitur* Dei gesta per Francos, ed. R.B.C. Huygens. CCCM 127A (Turnhout: 1996), 79; Guibert de Nogent, *Geste de Dieu par les Francs: Histoire de la première croisade*, trans. Monique-Cécile Garand (Turnhout: 1998), 45; Guibert de Nogent, *The Deeds of God through the Franks: Gesta Dei per Francos*, trans. Robert Levine (Woodbridge: 1997), 24.

19 Kempf and Bull (eds.), *Robert the Monk*, xxxi.

20 Sweetenham (trans.), *Robert the Monk's History*, 35–42, for a discussion in her introduction.

21 Kempf and Bull (eds.), *Robert the Monk*, lx.

22 Kempf and Bull (eds.), *Robert the Monk*, lxii.

23 Kempf and Bull (eds.), *Robert the Monk*, ix–x.

and that both had more in the way of education and resources. As we shall see, each was an accomplished writer with a corpus of works to his name.

Baldric, abbot of Bourgueil and later archbishop of Dol, claimed to have received no more than basic schooling; nevertheless it equipped him to make use of the considerable library in his abbey and to write accomplished poetry as well as his *Historia Ierosolimitana*.[24] He is thought to have written the first recension of his history of the First Crusade, using the anonymous *Gesta Francorum* as his source-text, between 1105 and 1107 while he was abbot of Bourgueil, adding some details in a second recension written after he became archbishop of Dol (in Brittany) in 1108.[25] As he explained in a prologue, quoted above, he considered the *Gesta Francorum* ill written and aimed to rewrite it in a more acceptable style.[26] Baldric used a range of poetic devices to enhance his text, and also quoted and alluded to a number of classical, biblical, and patristic authors.[27] Among them was Josephus. Book One of Baldric's history begins strikingly with a description of the historical vicissitudes of the city of Jerusalem, adding:

> There is none who does not know already that Christ when preaching wept over her, and prophesied her destruction, unless perhaps someone ignorant and shameless who senselessly treats the page of the gospel with contempt. How this came about will be clearly evident to anyone reading the deeds of Titus and Vespasian, the record of which that most eloquent man Josephus famously immortalised with his pen.[28]

This is not only the first explicit reference to Josephus in First Crusade literature, but the first hint of the 'vengeance theme' that was to become powerful as

24 Biddlecombe (ed.), *Baldric of Bourgueil*, discusses Baldric's education xv–xviii. For Baldric's poems (with translation into French) see Baudri de Bourgueil, *Poèmes*, ed. Jean-Yves Tilliette, 2 vols (Paris: 1998–2002).

25 Biddlecombe (ed.), *Baldric of Bourgueil*, xxvi–xxx.

26 "Non tamen huic beate interesse promerui militie, neque uisa narraui: sed nescio quis compilator, nomine suo suppresso, libellum super hac re nimis rusticanum ediderat; ueritatem tamen texuerat, sed propter inurbanitatem codicis, nobilis materies uiluerat; et simpliciores etiam inculta et incompta lectio confestim a se auocabat." (ed. Biddlecombe, 4).

27 Katherine Allen Smith, *The Bible and Crusade Narrative in the Twelfth Century* (Woodbridge: 2020), 42–43, 190–91.

28 "Iam uero Christum predicantem super eam flesse, et eius abolitionem denuntiasse, nullus ignorat, nisi quis forte paginam euangilii imprudens et impudens uecorditer conculcat. Quod quomodo acciderit, legenti gesta Titi et Vespasiani indifficulter patebit: quam lectionem uir eloquentissimus Iosephus stilo celebri consecrauit." (ed. Biddlecombe, 5; trans. Edgington, 43).

the 12th century proceeded. Whether Baldric had read Josephus in Latin translation, knew Hegesippus, or had the story and the reference from Eusebius' *Historia Ecclesiastica* in translation is not known, since we do not know the contents of the library at Bourgueil or at Dol. However, since the vengeance prophecy was made more explicit by Eusebius, the last is likely.[29] This direct citation is the only reference to Josephus by name, although the knowledge that Baldric knew Josephus' work enables us to find possible and probable allusions later in his *Historia*.

Baldric's contemporary and fellow "improver" of the *Gesta* text, Guibert of Nogent, was also a prolific author, though his *Dei gesta per Francos* appears to have been his first major work.[30] Guibert's intention in revising the *Gesta Francorum* was expressed in his changed title: he explicitly condemned the arrogance of the anonymous writer by putting God first and making the Franks His agents.[31] Guibert deployed vast learning, which he did not wear lightly. This may have contributed to his relative neglect by readers both in his own century and since.[32] Robert Huygens championed him, rather defensively: "despite pedantic expressions and needlessly complicated sentences, Guibert is one of the great Latin writers of the 12th century," while Monique-Cécile Garand commented on Guibert's familiarity with the Scriptures, the Church Fathers, and even classical authors: "an immense field to which his vast literary culture gave him access."[33] However, we look in vain for Josephus. This was not because his work was unknown to Guibert, who in his preface deprecated his own juvenile versifying and asserted that he thought that the story of the First Crusade "deserved to be told with more *gravitas* than all the histories of the Jewish wars."[34] This could be interpreted as a direct reference to Josephus

29 *Flavii Iosephi … de bello Iudaico libri septem, interprete Ruffino Aquiliensi*, ed. Johann Froben (Basel: 1524), online at: https://books.google.co.uk/books/about/Flavii_Iosephi_Opera_quaedam_Ruffino_pre.html?id=xdHp34prO5IC&redir_esc=y [accessed 06/06/2024]; the account of the destruction of Jerusalem (Bk 4, chap. 5) is at 741–7. For Eusebius, *Chronicon*: PL 27, cols 455–8, online at: https://play.google.com/books/reader?id=fhlY7obXnZEC&hl=en&pg=GBS.PA455 [accessed 06/06/2024].

30 For discussion of Guibert's reasons for writing the *Dei gesta* and his historical method, see Jay Rubenstein, *Guibert of Nogent: Portrait of a Medieval Mind* (New York: 2002), 95–101.

31 Guibert ended his preface, "Nomen autem indidi quod arrogantia careat gentisque honori proficiat, scilicet DEI GESTA PER FRANCOS," ed. Huygens, 84.

32 There are eight manuscripts extant. Guibert, ed. Huygens, 24–50.

33 Guibert, ed. Huygens, 8: "malgré des expressions pédantes et des phrases inutilement compliquées, Guibert est un des très grands écrivains latins du 12e siècle;" trans. Garand, 11: "un champ immense auquel sa vaste culture litéraire lui donnait accès."

34 Guibert, ed. Huygens, 81: "sed maiori … quam omnes belli Iudaici Historias maturitate dignum digeri … arbitrabar." Cited in Jay Rubenstein, "Miracles and the Crusading Mind: Monastic Meditations on Jerusalem's Conquest," in *Prayer and Thought in Monastic*

account of the Jewish war, but it may have a more general implication, that Guibert was rejecting parallels between the Romans who destroyed Jerusalem and the crusaders, or, alternatively, between the Maccabees and the crusaders. This is supported by the way that, from the very outset of his narrative, Guibert condemned an "annoying craze" for vaunting the past and denigrating the actions of people in the present.[35] He went on to praise the Romans' bravery and to condemn their bellicosity and to emphasize that the Christian army was stronger because of the grace of God. Similarly, Guibert recognized that "God was worshipped among the Jewish people, but we know, thanks to irrefutable proofs, that Jesus Christ, just as He existed yesterday and prevailed among the ancients, exists today and prevails among our contemporaries."[36] Therefore, as Robert Levine observed, Guibert "attacks both the Graeco-Roman and Jewish texts upon which he heavily depends" and "throughout the text Guibert relentlessly insists that the Crusaders outdo the ancient Jews."[37] Levine suggested the reason for this was "the anxiety of influence," but Elizabeth Lapina has proposed a more convincing analysis of the *Dei gesta*, which is followed here.[38]

There is a parallel to Guibert's treatment of Josephus in his use of the books of Maccabees. As noted above in relation to the *Gesta Francorum*, medieval authors' borrowings were often no more than chance phrases remembered and divorced from their original context or clichés in common circulation. In the case of the Maccabean revolt, however, like several other historians of the First Crusade, Guibert deployed at least some of his quotations from and references to the two books of Maccabees with intent.[39] Nevertheless, Guibert's intent was different from these other writers.[40] Nicholas Morton has surveyed

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Tradition: Essays in Honour of Benedicta Ward SLG, eds. Santha Bhattacharji, Dominic Mattos, and Rowan Williams (London: 2014), 197–210, at 204.

35 The first sentence of Book One reads: "Quorundam mortalium vitiose aliquotiens, sed non semper, moribus constat inolitum ut modernorum facta vituperent, preterea secla sustollant." Guibert, ed. Huygens, 85.

36 Guibert, ed. Huygens, 86: "si deum in Iudaico populo magnificatum audivimus, Iesum Christum sicut heri apud antiquos, ita et hodie apud modernos esse et valere certis experimentis agnovimus."

37 Guibert, trans. Levine, 8.

38 Ibid, n. 30. Elizabeth Lapina, "Anti-Jewish rhetoric in Guibert of Nogent's *Dei gesta per Francos*," *Journal of Medieval History* 35 (2009): 239–53.

39 Lapina, "Anti-Jewish rhetoric," 240.

40 Lapina identified a passage in the prologue to an anonymous history from Monte Casino that also argues that the Maccabees fought for material gain – the laws of their fathers, inheritance, and heirs – while the crusaders fought for spiritual ends, the celestial Jerusalem: "Anti-Jewish rhetoric," 247; "Historia peregrinorum," *RHC Occ* 3: 169–229, at 173. However, the "Historia peregrinorum" was written or compiled around 1130 using a range

the First Crusade histories and concluded that, with the exception of Guibert, their writers compared the Maccabees and the crusaders in a positive way, presenting the Maccabees as role models.[41] Guibert, however, used the comparison to disparage the Maccabees, insisting that similarities were merely superficial. For example, as the *Gesta Francorum* had told, saints appeared at the battle of Antioch to assist the crusaders. Guibert expanded on the celestial intervention by referring directly to the Maccabees who received such help when "fighting for circumcision and pig meat," while the crusaders were much more deserving, shedding their blood to serve Christ and for the propagation of the faith.[42] Consistently, Guibert contrasted the physicality of the Maccabees' struggles with the spirituality of the Christians' battles, implicitly drawing an analogy with the literalness and carnality of Jewish reading of Scripture as against true Christian understanding of it.

It is in this context that Lapina discerned an indirect debt to Josephus when Guibert compared the crusader's capture of Jerusalem to the building of the Temple by Ezra and its restoration by Judas Maccabeus.[43] In his apostrophe to the Holy City, Guibert linked a third rebuilder to the two Old Testament characters, the Roman emperor Hadrian (A.D. 117–138): "Neither Ezra, once upon a time, nor Judas Maccabeus, bestowed upon you such great riches after your ruin, nor was Hadrian – whence you have the name Aelia – able to give you such things when he raised you up."[44] The reference to Hadrian's plan to rebuild Jerusalem after its devastation in the Jewish revolt put down by his predecessor Titus in A.D. 70 cannot be biblical and came most probably from St. Jerome's translation of Eusebius' *Chronicle* or his *Ecclesiastical History*, since both recorded that after putting down the second Jewish revolt and expelling all the Jews from the city, "Aelius Hadrianus" renamed the city in his own honor.[45] The *Chronicle* added,

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of earlier histories, including Guibert's. France, "Use of the Anonymous *Gesta Francorum*," 37–9, discusses this text (under the title of *Historia belli sacri*).

41 Nicholas Morton, "The defence of the Holy Land and the memory of the Maccabees," *Journal of Medieval History* 36 (2010): 275–293. Morton's discussion of other historians, 276–78; of Guibert of Nogent, 281.

42 Guibert, ed. Huygens, 240; Lapina, "Anti-Jewish rhetoric," 246.

43 1 Esdras 1–8; 2 Macc. 10:1–3.

44 Guibert, ed. Huygens, 290: "non Ezras olim vel Machabeus Iudas / post dampna tanto provehunt opes tuas, / non Adrianus – unde nomen Elia – / te suscitando quit dedisse talia."

45 Lapina, "Anti-Jewish rhetoric," 247–8; Jerome, *Chronicon*, PL 27, cols 465–6; Eusebius, *History of the Church*, trans. Williamson (from Greek), 4.6, 107–8. See also these editions: Eusebius/Jerome, Eusebius-Jerome, *Chronica canones*, in R. Helm, ed. *Die Chronik*

> Aelia was founded by Aelius Adrianus, and opposite her gate, by which we go out to Bethlehem, was a statue of a pig that stood out and signified that the Jews had submitted to the Romans. Some of the Jews thought that it had been erected by Titus Aelius the son of Vespasian.[46]

Linking Judas Maccabeus, the Jewish rebel, and Hadrian, who suppressed a Jewish rebellion, is surprising at first sight, but Lapina argues that juxtaposing the two figures contributed to Guibert's agenda. Both characters were placed firmly in the distant, pagan past (*olim*) alongside Ezra, and both Jews and persecutors of the Jews were credited with building or rebuilding the city, thus rupturing the exclusive identification of Jerusalem with the Jews. Furthermore, the defeat of the Jews by pagan Romans showed that the Jews had already lost God's favor.[47] Guibert's *Dei gesta*, therefore, has to be read in the context of his other works, particularly his *Contra iudaizantem et Iudaeos*, written soon after the *Dei gesta*, and his autobiographical writings, the *Monodiae*.[48] Guibert's detestation of the Jews, who rejected the Incarnation, goes a long way to explaining his reluctance in the *Dei gesta* to engage with the Judaeo-Roman scholarship of Josephus, even though he was evidently familiar with it from translations of Eusebius. The invocation and subsequent rejection of Josephus in the *Dei gesta* may be seen as an earlier example of Guibert's intellectual engagement with and refutation of Judaism and his refusal to accept analogies between the crusade and Jewish history.

The three monastic writers who aimed to improve the *Gesta Francorum* thus made quite distinct narratives from the same information and differed markedly in their use of Josephan material. Their variation in approach may in part have reflected the writers' different backgrounds and educational resources, but it also resulted from their contrasting aims in writing and their expectation of audience, from the populist, anecdotal style of Robert, to the highly intellectual, sometimes polemical, style of Guibert. From them we turn

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Des Hieronymus, Eusebius Werke, (Berlin: 1956), also in G. Brugnoli, ed. *Curiosissimus excerptor: Gli "Additamenta" di Girolamo ai "Chronica" di Eusebio* (Pisa: 1995).

46 Jerome, *Chronicon*, PL 27, cols 469–70: "Ælia ab Ælio Adriano condita: et in fronte ejus portæ, qua Bethlehem egredimur, sus sculptus in marmore prominens, significans Romanis subjacere Judæos. Judæorum nonnulli a Tito Ælio filio Vespasiani exstructam arbitrantur."

47 Lapina, "Anti-Jewish rhetoric," 248.

48 Guibert of Nogent, *Monodiarum suarum libri tres*, ed. and trans. Edmond René Labande (Paris: 1981); *Monodies and On the Relics of Saints*, trans. Joseph McAlhany and Jay Rubenstein (London: 2011). For a discussion of Guibert's *Contra iudaizantem*, see Rubenstein, *Guibert of Nogent*, 116–24.

our attention to three participants in the First Crusade who also incorporated material that can be shown to come from the *Gesta Francorum*. The closest of all is that of Peter Tudebode, who, essentially, just added some personal details to the *Gesta*.[49] Two others who took part in the expedition also included details which can be shown to come from the *Gesta*. Raymond of Aguilers' borrowings are slighter, but Fulcher of Chartres, who was absent in Edessa between the autumn of 1097 and the end of 1099 depended on the *Gesta* to relate the missing months, which covered the sieges and capture of Antioch and Jerusalem.[50]

Raymond of Aguilers was chaplain to Raymond of Toulouse and wrote an account from a Provençal point of view.[51] It starts with the army's journey to Constantinople – in this case via Dalmatia – and ends after the conquest of Jerusalem, in 1099. Both beginning and ending are oddly *in medias res*, but the text survives in few manuscripts, and none that was copied before the middle of the 12th century, so this remains unexplained. As John and Laurita Hill explained in the introduction to their edition, Raymond's sources were predominantly liturgical: "Raymond fooled generations of intellectuals by the art with which he could turn to account his Breviary, his Missal and his lectionaries."[52] He also drew on Maccabees and the Old Testament books of the prophets to describe the crusaders' exploits, and on hagiography when he described celestial visions.[53] He was familiar with St. Ambrose's 4th-century works of exegesis, but not, apparently, other patristic literature.[54] Since nothing is known of Raymond's education, it is difficult to gauge whether he deliberately overlooked works derived from Josephus, if he knew but disregarded them, or

49 The relationship is so close that the great 19th-century compilation of crusades texts, the *Recueil des historiens des croisades*, published "Petrus Tudebodus" in its *Historiens occidentaux*, 3: 1–117 [series cited as *RHC Occ* hereafter], followed by the *Gesta* as "Tudebodus abbreviatus." There are newer and better editions of both texts; details of these for the *Gesta* will be noted in the more detailed discussion that follows this initial survey. For Peter Tudebode, see *Historia de Hierosolymitano itinere*, eds. John H. Hill and Laurita L. Hill, Documents relatifs à l'histoire des croisades 12 (Paris: 1977).

50 No doubt Fulcher was also able to gather oral testimony, as he lived and wrote in Jerusalem from 1100 to 1127. His *Historia* and Raymond's account are discussed later and editions and associated literature will be cited.

51 *Le "Liber" de Raymond d'Aguilers*, eds. John H. Hill and Laurita L. Hill, Documents relatifs à l'histoire des croisades 9 (Paris: 1969).

52 Raymond, eds. Hill and Hill, 14: "Raymond a trompé des génerations d'érudits par l'art avec lequel il a su tirer parti de son Bréviaire, de son Missel et de ses lectionnaires."

53 Raymond, eds. Hill and Hill, 15–17; Beth C. Spacey, *The Miraculous and the Writing of Crusade Narrative* (Woodbridge: 2020), 81.

54 Raymond, eds. Hill and Hill, 18–19.

if he simply did not know them.[55] It may or may not be relevant that he was a southerner and therefore outside the region that Blatt identified as the main area of dissemination of the Latin Josephus.

Fulcher of Chartres offers a different challenge. His *Historia Hierosolymitana*, as extant, comprises three books, of which only the first covers the period of the First Crusade.[56] Fulcher went on crusade in 1096 with the Normans of northern France. While the armies were paused for rest and recreation at Marash in October 1097, he joined an expedition led by Baldwin of Boulogne that went to Edessa at the invitation of its Byzantine governor.[57] Following a palace coup Baldwin became count of the city and Fulcher stayed with him as his chaplain. Thus, he was absent from the crusader armies that captured Antioch in June 1098 and Jerusalem in July 1099. He accompanied Baldwin at Christmas 1099 when he travelled to Jerusalem to complete his pilgrimage and in the autumn of 1100 when Baldwin went to claim rule of the Holy City in succession to his brother Godfrey. It was evidently in Jerusalem that Fulcher set about writing his account of the crusade, drawing on the *Gesta Francorum* author and Raymond of Aguilers' history for the sieges of Antioch and Jerusalem, and everything in between them. Fulcher remained in Jerusalem and went on writing until 1127, when his *Historia* ends. However, his narrative is by no means annalistic, but was periodically revised. Only the first redaction is relevant to the First Crusade, and this takes the story to 1105. We have two witnesses to this first version, both of whom mention its author's name. Guibert of Nogent characteristically attacked both Fulcher's veracity and his Latin style: Fulcher provided "some different details but few and those false and written in a rough style, like the rest" … and more in similar vein.[58] More usefully, another writer (called "Bartolf of Nangis" in the 19th century although it is unlikely this was

55 Thomas Lecaque, "Reading Raymond: The Bible of Le Puy, the Cathedral Library and the Literary Background of the *Liber* of Raymond of Aguilers," in *The Uses of the Bible in Crusader Sources*, eds. Elizabeth Lapina and Nicholas Morton (Leiden: 2017), 105–132. Lecaque conjectures that Raymond had access to the resources of the cathedral.

56 *Fulcheri Carnotensis Historia Hierosolymitana* (*1095–1127*), ed. Heinrich Hagenmeyer (Heidelberg: 1913) (hereafter Hagenmeyer); Fulcher of Chartres, *A History of the Expedition to Jerusalem, 1095–1127*, trans. Frances S. Ryan, ed. Harold S. Fink (Knoxville: 1960) (hereafter Ryan). See also Verena Epp, *Fulcher von Chartres: Studien zur Geschichtsschreibung des ersten Kreuzzuges* (Düsseldorf: 1990). Only Fulcher's first book is discussed in this chapter; see Julian Yolles's chapter in this volume for his later narrative.

57 Susan B. Edgington, *Baldwin I of Jerusalem, 1100–1118* (Abingdon: 2019), 24–58.

58 Guibert, ed. Huygens, 329: "diverse etiam a nobis aliqua sed pauca, haecque fallaciter et scabro, ut ceteri, sermone."

his name) used Fulcher's history to produce a version titled *Gesta Francorum Iherusalem expugnantium*.[59] The problem is that "Bartolf" claimed:

> We, who are thoroughly informed both by the content of [Fulcher's] little book, and by the accounts of others, and by penetrating investigation, avoiding a prolix narrative, content only with those things that we feel are relevant to the matter, have taken care conscientiously to modify the text of this volume.[60]

Neither Fulcher *circa* 1105 nor his modifier "Bartolf" explicitly cited Josephus when describing the events of the First Crusade.[61] However, Tomasz Pełech has shown convincingly that Fulcher drew on Josephus to describe an incident during the siege of Jerusalem when crusaders eviscerated Muslim corpses to find gold that they had swallowed, arguing furthermore that this was an act carried out at Caesarea in 1101 but transferred to the capture of Jerusalem because of the parallel with the Roman siege in Josephus.[62]

There is a single reference in Fulcher's *Historia* to Josephus by name within the period 1095–1105 and this is in relation to Baldwin's return from pilgrimage to Jerusalem at the very beginning of 1100.[63] It is a topographical detail concerning the dimensions of lake Gennesaret (Tiberias), taken from Josephus.[64]

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59 "*Gesta Francorum Iherusalem expugnantium*," *RHC Occ* 3: 491–543 [hereafter *GFIE*]. The relationship with Fulcher is examined in Susan B. Edgington, "The *Gesta Francorum Iherusalem expugnantium* of 'Bartolf of Nangis'," *Crusades* 13 (2014): 21–35. A new edition and English translation of the *Gesta Francorum Iherusalem expugnantium* by Susan B. Edgington and Thomas W. Smith is forthcoming (Oxford Medieval Texts).

60 *GFIE*, chap. 2, 492: "Nos vero qui et libelli pagina, aliorumque narratu, arguta inquisitione edocti, prolixam narrationem vitantes, his tantum quae ad rem pertinere sentimus contenti, hujus voluminis textum diligenter transformare curavimus."

61 The *Gesta Francorum Iherusalem expugnantium* was incorporated into Lambert of Saint-Omer's *Liber floridus*, and Lambert certainly used Josephus elsewhere in his compilation. However, he did not add any such references to "Bartolf" so his work is not discussed here. For Josephus references in Lambert, see Schreckenberg, *Die Flavius-Josephus-Tradition*, 138; Suzanne Conklin Akbari, *Idols in the East: European Representation in Islam and the Orient, 1100–1450* (Ithaca, NY: 2009), 80, 81, 89–90; eadem, "Erasing the Body: History and Memory in Medieval Siege Poetry," in *Remembering the Crusades: Myth, Image, and Identity*, eds. Nicholas Paul and Suzanne Yeager (Baltimore: 2012), 146–73.

62 Tomasz Pełech, "Un réemploi de Flavius Josèphe par Foucher de Chartres: L'or arraché aux cadavres," *Cahiers de civilisation médiévale* 259 (2022): 259–274. *GFIE*, chap. 37, 516; Fulcher, 1.28.1: ed. Hagenmeyer, 301–2; trans. Ryan, 122.

63 Fulcher, 1.34.3: ed. Hagenmeyer, 339; trans. Ryan, 133.

64 *BJ*, according to Hagenmeyer; *AJ*, according to Heinz Schreckenberg, *Rezeptionsgeschichtliche und Textkritische Untersuchungen zu Flavius Josephus* (Leiden: 1977), 39.

However, "Bartolf" did not include the same information and Verena Epp is confident that it was added by Fulcher in his second redaction, around 1120.[65] This is significant insofar as there are further quotations from and citations of Josephus in Fulcher's books Two and Three: Heinz Schreckenberg listed eight from *Jewish War* and four from *Antiquities* in all.[66] The question then arises as to whether Fulcher did not use Josephus for the First Crusade because he considered the ancient source did not suit his subject matter, or because he did not have access to the Latin Josephus until he was settled in Jerusalem. It is possible, but unlikely, that his first acquaintance with Josephus was after 1100: he showed a knowledge of classical authors probably gained in the well-known schools of Chartres, even if, as Harold Fink observed, "Fulcher displayed more interest than skill in such subjects."[67] Epp, discussing Fulcher's second redaction, claimed that the insertion of a reference to *Natura* into Duke Godfrey's epitaph taken from the Latin Josephus was typical of "the Chartres circle."[68] It is most likely that Fulcher was acquainted with Josephus from his schooling in Normandy, but more certainly had access to Josephus' works when writing and/or revising Books Two and Three of his *Historia*. This is demonstrated in Book Three where Fulcher quoted directly from the Latin *Jewish War* concerning two rivers in Syria and Titus's praise of Beirut.[69] Since these references are to events considerably after the First Crusade, there is only one observation to add: in the course of a long description of Tyre and its history, quoting Josephus, Fulcher mentioned the total destruction of Jerusalem by Titus.[70] However, he did not link this to the contemporary 'vengeance' legend, and it may be no more than a historical observation.

Another Norman who took up residence in the East was Ralph of Caen, who travelled with Bohemond of Antioch's 'crusade' raised against the Byzantines and arrived at Antioch in 1107. Bohemond's nephew Tancred was regent in Antioch and Ralph wrote a history of the First Crusade and the early settlement period that he called *Gesta Tancredi*.[71] Ralph had received an excellent

65 Epp, *Fulcher*, 126. For "Bartolf"'s mention of the "sea of Galilee," *GFIE*, chap. 40, 519.

66 Schreckenberg, *Rezeptionsgeschichtliche*, 39.

67 Fulcher, trans. Ryan, introduction by Fink, 6. Epp shared this inference that Fulcher was schooled at Chartres, 25; Pełech, 270–1.

68 Epp, *Fulcher*, 122 and n. 180. Fulcher, 1.36.2, ed. Hagenmeyer, 350. The "epitaph" is not actually the one on Godfrey's tomb, but Fulcher's personal verse tribute.

69 Fulcher, 3.51.4–5 and 3.52.1–3, ed. Hagenmeyer, 795–8, citing Josephus, *Jewish War*, 7. 96–9 and 2. 189–91. For Fulcher's use of Rufinus' translation, see Hagenmeyer, 69 and n. 3. Hagenmeyer's references were to the 1524 Cologne edition.

70 Fulcher, 3.30.7, ed. Hagenmeyer, 713.

71 Ralph of Caen, "Gesta Tancredi in expeditione Hierosolymitana," *RHC Occ* 3: 587–716; Radulphus Cadomensis, *Tancredus*, ed. Eduardo D'Angelo, CCCM 231 (Turnhout: 2011);

education in Caen, taught by Arnulf of Chocques who had also tutored William I of England's daughter and who was to become patriarch of Jerusalem. Ralph wrote elaborate, convoluted Latin, citing classical writers "more readily than holy scripture."[72] These authors included "Vergil, Ovid, Horace, Lucan, Plautus, etc."[73] Ralph's English translators added an acquaintance with the classical historians, "particularly Livy, Caesar, Lucan, and Sallust." They added: "It remains to be seen, as a great deal more research would be necessary, if Ralph had studied the Latin translations of Josephus' *History* and *Jewish Antiquities*," observing in addition that these are known to have been widely available in the libraries of Normandy.[74] One reference, falling outside the period of the First Crusade but worth noting, suggests familiarity with the *Antiquities*: for modern Beit She'an (Israel) Ralph remarked "now Besan, we read that it was formerly Bezanis."[75] The use of the present tense, *legimus*, may mean that Ralph, like Fulcher of Chartres, used a copy of the Latin Josephus in Jerusalem, where he is believed to have written his *Gesta Tancredi*. It should be noted, however, that strictly classical models were more important to Ralph than post-classical or medieval sources: his work is prosimetric and the quite extensive sections in hexameter verse that echo Vergil or Lucan deal with epic subjects, such as sieges and battles and the activities of his eponymous hero, Tancred. Finally, it is worth pointing out that the *Gesta Tancredi* is extant in a single 12th-century manuscript, possibly Ralph's autograph, and that it was apparently unread through the medieval period, being rediscovered in the 18th century.[76] Hence it had no influence on our other writers.

Two other men who arrived in the Holy Land after the capture of Jerusalem wrote accounts of the First Crusade, although neither can be shown definitively to have used a knowledge of Josephus in his work. They can therefore be mentioned quite briefly. Caffaro of Genoa (*ca*. 1080–1166) was that rare medieval writer who was not a cleric.[77] He came of a prominent family and was a

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The Gesta Tancredi *of Ralph of Caen: A History of the Normans on the First Crusade*, trans. Bernard S. Bachrach and David S. Bachrach (Aldershot: 2005).

72 Ralph, *RHC Occ* 3, xxxviii: "plus volontiers que les livres saints."

73 Ralph, *RHC Occ* 3, xl.

74 Ralph, trans. Bachrach and Bachrach, 5.

75 Ralph, *RHC Occ* 3, 703: "nunc Besan, olim Bezanis legimus appellatum." Footnote (b) on the same page cites *Antiquities*, 12.8.5 as the probable source.

76 Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale 5373 (formerly Gembloux); *RHC Occ* 3, xl for the publication history.

77 *Annali genovesi di Caffaro e de' suoi continuatori*, ed. Luigi Belgrano, Fonti per la storia d'Italia 11 (Rome: 1890): *Annales* (1099–1163), 3–75; *De liberatione civitatum Orientis*, 95–124; *Caffaro, Genoa and the Twelfth-century Crusades*, trans. Martin Hall and Jonathan Phillips (Farnham: 2013).

successful public servant to his city as consul *de comuni* in 1122 and six times in all, as a diplomat, and as a military commander.[78] As a younger man, however, he sailed with the Genoese fleet to the Levant in late summer 1100. The account he wrote of his time in the East has the appearance of initially being no more than notes he kept for his own interest, but later they were written up and also continued as annals that were endorsed by the consuls in 1152 as the official record of Genoa's history.[79] A few years later, in the mid-1150s, Caffaro wrote a more complete account of the First Crusade and the part played by the Genoese in the conquest of the coast for the kingdom of Jerusalem, *De liberatione civitatum Orientis*, as part of Genoese efforts to convince the pope and others of Genoese rights in Levant.[80] Caffaro's Latin style is "succinct and straightforward" and his translator concluded that: "He was well grounded in Latin but not immersed in classical learning … He had been taught the language of Sallust and Cicero, and used it to portray Genoa and the Genoese as worthy successors of the Roman Republic."[81] In fact, the only precise classical quotation Caffaro produced was from Sallust.[82] Biblical and patristic allusions and citations are also sparse, and there is no evidence that Caffaro was acquainted with Josephus or Eusebius in Latin, which is perhaps significant as a rare indicator of how a secular education differed from the clerical education of all our other writers.

Ekkehard of Aura also wrote an account of the First Crusade.[83] It used to be thought that this was the work of a person who participated in the crusading expeditions of 1101 and wrote a continuation of the chronicle of Frutolf of Michelsberg. However, when T.J.H. McCarthy published a translation of the chronicles produced in the monastery of Michelsberg, near Bamberg in Bavaria, his invaluable introduction disambiguated the series of chronicles: Frutolf (d. 1103) wrote a universal chronicle on the model of Eusebius, but he concluded his account in 1099, referring quite briefly and annalistically to the First Crusade.[84] A different chronicler who had participated in the crusading expeditions of 1101 wrote a continuation to 1106 that reprised and

78 Caffaro, trans. Hall and Phillips, 2. For a detailed account of Caffaro's career and writings, Elena Bellomo, *A servizio di Dio e del Santo Sepolcro: Caffaro e l'Oriente latino* (Padua: 2003).

79 Caffaro, trans. Hall and Phillips, 6–7.

80 Caffaro, trans. Hall and Phillips, 29.

81 Caffaro, trans. Hall and Phillips, 44.

82 Caffaro, *Annales*, ed. Belgrano, 73; trans. Caffaro, Hall and Phillips, 99 and n. 211.

83 Ekkehard of Aura, *Hierosolymita*, *RHC Occ* 3: 11–40.

84 *Chronicles of the Investiture Contest: Frutolf of Michelsberg and His Continuators*, trans. T.J.H. McCarthy (Manchester: 2014): "Introduction," 1–83; Frutolf's chronicle, 130–32; 133–36.

substantially expanded Frutolf's account of the First Crusade.[85] Unlike Frutolf, however, whose chronicle relied on "an impressive range of sources, both ancient and medieval," including Eusebius, Jerome, Rufinus of Aquileia, and Flavius Josephus, the continuator shows no awareness of the Latin Josephus.[86] A different writer, Ekkehard of Aura, compiled a chronicle that depended heavily on Frutolf's chronicle and the 1106 continuation, from the second of which he extracted the information about the First Crusade to consign it to an appendix that he called *Hierosolimita*.[87] It adds nothing of importance to the account in the 1106 continuation, but was rather compiled from "the memorable accounts of different chronicles from the beginning of time until our own rotten times."[88]

A point that Caffaro and Frutolf's continuator have in common is that neither depends on any known written source.[89] A third who shares the same distinction, and is a more significant historian, is Albert of Aachen. Albert did not go on crusade but wrote his long *Historia Ierosolimitana* in the Rhineland. The first six books (of twelve) narrate the story of the First Crusade and were probably written in the first decade of the 12th century. Albert quoted from and alluded to the Old and New Testaments of the Bible quite frequently, but more rarely from classical and post-classical sources except for Vergil (the *Aeneid* and the *Georgics*) and, secondarily, Lucan. It is most likely that even these references were to epitomes and extracts in anthologies, or phrases that had passed into common usage, rather than demonstrating a real familiarity with the poets. Albert showed no direct knowledge of the Josephan corpus, but he did echo Josephus in relation to the destructions of Jerusalem, first by Nebuchadnezzar, then by King Antiochus, and then in A.D. 70:

> Once again, after the Incarnation, in accordance with the prediction of Lord Jesus, Jerusalem was utterly destroyed with its occupants by the

85 McCarthy, *Chronicles*, 44–50; 138–86 (account of the First Crusade, 138–58; author's presence on 1101 crusade, 153, 162–71). In *Frutolfi et Ekkehardi chronica necnon anonymi chronica imperatorum*, eds. Franz-Josef Schmale and Irene Schmale-Ott (Darmstadt: 1972), the editors titled the 1106 continuation "Ekkehard I."

86 McCarthy, *Chronicles*, 24–7; see also idem, "Scriptural Allusion in the Crusading Accounts of Frutolf of Michelsberg and his Continuators," in *Uses of the Bible*, eds. Lapina and Morton, 152–75.

87 McCarthy, *Chronicles*, 66–9; "Hierosolimita," trans. McCarthy, 254–260.

88 McCarthy, *Chronicles*, 73, n. 332; "Hierosolimita," trans. McCarthy, 254.

89 "Ekkehard" referred to a *libellus* he saw in Jerusalem, which was thought to have been the anonymous *Gesta Francorum*, but this has been disproved: eds. Schmale and Schmale-Ott, 148 n. 73; McCarthy, *Chronicles*, 153, n. 120.

> Roman princes Titus and Vespasian in such a way that, in accordance with the Lord's pronouncement, there would not be left one stone upon another.[90]

This is significant as an early instance of the 'vengeance theme' in the historiography of the First Crusade, probably contemporary with the "so-called 'encyclical of Sergius IV' " (pope 1009–1012), the authenticity of which has been much debated but which was probably forged around the time of the First Crusade.[91] The interpretation of the destruction of Jerusalem as the Lord's vengeance does not therefore mean that Albert had read Hegesippus or Eusebius, but more likely that he was aware of the legend from oral or other sources.[92] Nothing is known about Albert of Aachen other than can be inferred from his *Historia*. With regard to Josephus, it is possible, but unlikely, that versions were not available to him where he worked, which is thought to be the cathedral at Aachen. Albert's borrowings from other sources were neither many nor recondite, and this fits his narrative style, which is direct and paratactic and apparently adopted to appeal to a less literate audience.

Later historians who wrote substantial accounts of the First Crusade all drew on one or another of these contemporary or near-contemporary sources with greater or lesser incorporation of other material. William of Tyre, for example, who was born in Jerusalem, wrote his *Chronicon* after his return in 1165 from spending nearly twenty years studying in the schools of Western Europe, including Paris, Orleans and Bologna.[93] For his account of the First Crusade, William drew on the histories of Albert of Aachen and Fulcher of Chartres but among the enhancements he introduced to the narrative was an evident familiarity with the Latin Josephus. Whether he gained this in the West or the East is unsure, though he most likely had a copy in Jerusalem to which

90 Albert, ed. and trans. Edgington, 432: "Rursum post incarnationem ex prenunciatione Domini Iesu a principibus Romanorum Tito et Vespasiano funditus cum habitatoribus suis sic deleta est ut ad uocem Domini lapis super lapidem non remaneret."

91 Aleksander Gieysztor, "The genesis of the crusades: The encyclical of Sergius IV (1009–1012)," *Medievalia et humanistica* 5 (1948): 3–23, and 6 (1948): 3–34. For the 'vengeance theme' in detail, see Throop, *Crusading as an Act of Vengeance*.

92 Susan B. Edgington, "Albert of Aachen and the *chansons de geste*," in *The Crusades and their Sources: Essays Presented to Bernard Hamilton*, eds. John France and William G. Zajac (Aldershot: 1998), 23–38.

93 William of Tyre, *Chronicon*, ed. Robert B. C. Huygens, CCCM 63–63A, 2 vols. continuously paginated (Turnhout: 1986); *A History of Deeds Done beyond the Sea by William Archbishop of Tyre*, trans. Emily A. Babcock and August C. Krey, 2 vols (New York: 1943); Peter W. Edbury and John G. Rowe, *William of Tyre: Historian of the Latin East* (Cambridge: 1988).

he could refer. In the long preface to book 23 that William wrote in 1184, he confessed that he had decided to give up, but was persuaded to continue, "fortified by the example of the ancient historians Livy and Josephus."[94] An instance relating to the First Crusade demonstrates the way William augmented his sources: to Albert's outline of the historical destructions of Jerusalem, he added: "as the eminent writers and illustrious historians Hegesippus and Josephus reported."[95] Similarly, William wrote a long topographical and historical description of Antioch, quoting several works including Rufinus' translation of Eusebius' *Ecclesiastical History*.[96] Peter Edbury and John Rowe raised the possibility that William composed or revised his descriptions of Jerusalem and Antioch and (later) Tyre after 1180 to increase the appeal of his history to a western audience: "perhaps his employment of allusions to classical and earlier Christian writers in these passages should be seen as something of an afterthought, supplying a veneer of literary scholarship to an otherwise largely unadorned text as a means of satisfying his readership."[97]

In the second quarter of the 12th century three Anglo-Norman writers included substantial sections on the First Crusade in their histories. Henry of Huntingdon received his education in the household of the bishop of Lincoln, and there is a library catalogue of Lincoln cathedral chapter, copied around 1160, that is a guide to Henry's probable reading and resources.[98] From this we learn that "Josephus and Eusebius" were donated to the library by Bishop Robert de Chesney after 1148, that is, after Henry's account of the First Crusade was completed.[99] This may explain why Henry's history of the crusade, which was based on the *Gesta Francorum* with a few added details, made no use of Josephus.[100] Orderic Vitalis was a different case: the abbey of Saint-Évroul possessed copies of both *Antiquities* and *Jewish War*.[101] However, Orderic's *Ecclesiastical History* betrays by its title his debt to Eusebius, and Marjorie

94 Edbury and Rowe, *William of Tyre*, 29, referring to William, ed. Huygens, 1062.

95 William of Tyre, ed. Huygens, 8.2, 383: "ut referunt egregii scriptores et illustres historiographi Egesippus et Iosephus." See Hegesippus, *Historiae*, 5.2.1, 295–301; Josephus, *De bello Iudaico*, 7.16–18 (Cologne: 1524), 316–18.

96 William of Tyre, ed. Huygens, 4.10, 247.

97 Edbury and Rowe, *William of Tyre*, 37–8.

98 Henry, Archdeacon of Huntingdon, *Historia Anglorum* (*History of the English People*), ed. and trans. Diana Greenway (Oxford: 1996), xxxii–xxxiii.

99 It occupies Book 7, chaps. 5–18; ed. Greenway, 422–42.

100 Greenway proposes that Henry may have used an epitome of the *Gesta Francorum*, rather than the extant version: xcviii–xcix.

101 *The Ecclesiastical History of Orderic Vitalis*, ed. and trans. Marjorie Chibnall, 6 vols. (Oxford: 1969–80), vol. 1, 62, n7, citing Geneniève Nortier, *Les bibliothèques des abbayes bénédictines de Normandie* (Paris: 1971), 219.

Chibnall suggested that Orderic may not have used the Latin Josephus directly but quoted his work at some length from Eusebius; Hegesippus was probably known to Orderic from Eusebius too, or from Jerome's *De viris illustribus*.[102] Orderic's narrative of the First Crusade, which occupies almost all of Book Nine (of twelve) of his *History*, was derived – often verbatim – from Baldric of Bourgueil, whom Orderic knew personally.[103] He added no other historical information, but only some literary touches, one of which was to connect the cities captured by the crusaders with their biblical history, for which he used Eusebius and the biblical commentaries of St Jerome. For example, in relation to Edessa, Orderic appears to have used the *Historia Ecclesiastica* in Latin translation.[104] This is in line with Orderic's general practice, and he did not use Josephus or Eusebius to make comparisons with the crusade itself.

William of Malmesbury is yet a different case.[105] In a special study of Anglo-Norman historians' borrowings from Hegesippus, Neil Wright described William as one of the best-read Europeans of the 12th century, while Rodney Thomson called him "a highly literate and intelligent English monk."[106] William's history of the crusade occupies a substantial part of his fourth book, 46 out of 84 chapters, and is as long as the *Gesta Francorum* or William's source narrative, the first redaction of Fulcher of Chartres' history. Unlike Orderic, however, who was closely faithful to his exemplar, William was a "sophisticated borrower" and he declared that he had made use of certain "ancient authors"

102 *Orderic Vitalis*, ed. Chibnall, vol. 1, 62. Orderic explicitly positioned his work in the Eusebian tradition: ed. Chibnall, vol. 1, 130–32. See also Daniel Roach and Charles C. Rozier, "Interpreting Orderic Vitalis," in *Orderic Vitalis: Life, Works and Interpretations*, ed. Charles C. Rozier, Daniel Roach, Giles E. M. Gasper, and Elisabeth van Houts (Woodbridge: 2016), 1–16, at 11.

103 "quem bene cogniui": *Orderic Vitalis*, ed. Chibnall, vol. 5, 188. See also Daniel Roach, "Orderic Vitalis and the First Crusade," *Journal of Medieval History* 42 (2016): 177–201, at 181–82. Mark Balfour demonstrated Orderic's probable use of a Josephan legend in "Moses and the Princess: Josephus' *Antiquitates Judaicae* and the *chansons de geste*," *Medium Aevum* 64 (1995): 1–16, at 5. However, this refers to an incident after the capture of Jerusalem: *Orderic Vitalis*, ed. Chibnall, vol. 5, 358–78, and Chibnall cited "Pseudo-Jerome" as Orderic's source for the princess's conversion to Christianity, 376, n.2.

104 *Orderic Vitalis*, ed. Chibnall, vol. 5, 120–21 and notes 2–3, citing Eusebius, *HE*, 1.13.4–22.

105 William of Malmesbury, *Gesta Regum Anglorum*, ed. and trans. R. A. B. Mynors, Rodney M. Thomson, and Michael Winterbottom, 2 vols. (Oxford: 1998–9).

106 Neil Wright, "Twelfth-Century Receptions of a Text: Anglo-Norman Historians and Hegesippus," in *Anglo-Norman Studies: XXXI. Proceedings of the Battle Conference 2008*, ed. C. P. Lewis (Woodbridge: 2009), 177–95, at 88; Rodney M. Thomson, *William of Malmesbury*, 2nd ed. (Woodbridge: 2003), 183.

on Constantinople, Antioch, and Jerusalem.[107] Among them he name-checked Hegesippus when the First Crusaders arrived at Antioch, claiming that the ancient author had pre-empted any description but nevertheless going on to describe the city anyway, in a sentence that both expanded on and condensed Hegesippus: "placed before all the cities throughout the world in the fourth place after Rome and Constantinople and Alexandria."[108] He then described the waters of Antioch's river, the Orontes, as "fluentis rapacibus, et ipso impetu frigidioribus," clearly based on Hegesippus' "fluentis ipso impetu frigidioribus."[109] Wright discerned a more distant echo of Hegesippus in William's report of Urban II's speech that launched the First Crusade, but this was rather the rhetorical voicing of an idea than a verbal resemblance.[110] William, therefore, made extensive use of Hegesippus in his account of the First Crusade and throughout his historical works.[111]

Finally, Robert the Monk's history of the crusade, which was widely disseminated as described above, was used to produce three Latin epics in verse. The earliest of them was the *Historia Vie Hierosolimitane*, written in the second decade of the 12th century. It was the work of Gilo of Paris and a second, anonymous author.[112] Both authors showed a familiarity with classical mythology and the works of Vergil, Lucan, Statius, and Ovid, but neither appears to have used the Latin Josephus.[113] The latest poetic work was entitled *Solymarius*

107 Wright, "Twelfth-Century Receptions," 188; Thomson, *William*, 179, citing William's introduction to his account of the First Crusade, see *Gesta Regum*, eds. Mynors et al, c. 343, vol. 1, 592–93.

108 Wright, "Twelfth-Century Receptions," 189: "post Romam et Constantinopolim et Alexandriam quarto per orbem loco cunctis ciuitatibus prelata." Hegesippus wrote, "Urbs tertio loco ante ex omnibus, quae in orbe Romano sunt ciuitatibus, aestimata, nunc quarto, postquam Constantinopolim excreuit ciuitas Byzantinorum" (3.5.2, ed. Ussani, 193).

109 Wright, "Twelfth-Century Receptions," 189.

110 Wright, "Twelfth-Century Receptions," 192–94, citing William, cap. 347, eds. Mynors et al., 604–5, and Hegesippus, 5.53, ed. Ussani, 409–10.

111 Despite Thomson's assertion that "The Latin Josephus which commonly went under the name of Hegesippus was extensively used by William in the *Gesta Regum*," William appears to have noted the difference between the two texts and authors: Thomson, *William*, 66. See also Michael Winterbottom, "Words, Words, Words," in *Discovering William of Malmesbury*, eds. Rodney M. Thomson, Emily Dolman, and Emily A. Winkler (Woodbridge: 2017), 203–18.

112 *The* Historia Vie Hierosolimitane *of Gilo of Paris*, eds. and trans. C.W. Grocock and J.E. Siberry (Oxford: 1997); the contribution of each poet is disambiguated at xiv.

113 Gilo, eds. Grocock and Siberry, xxiv–xxviii.

and was written around 1186 by Günther of Pairis (*c.*1150–*c.*1210).[114] Only 232 lines of the original survive, but these show strong Vergilian influence.[115] Once again there is no evidence that Günther knew the works of Josephus. The case is different for Metellus of Tegernsee, who wrote his *Expeditio Ierosolimitana*, a poem of 4845 lines, between 1146 and 1165.[116] Metellus deployed a dazzling range of classical allusions and may also have known the Latin *Antiquities*, Eusebius' *Liber de situ et nominibus locorum Hebraicorum*, Jerome's and/or Bede's works.[117] Peter Jacobsen identified two possible references and one by name. In part three of the poem Metellus referred to Cambyses' devastation of Egypt, ultimately derived from Josephus but probably mediated by Orosius or Bede, or later writers.[118] In part five there is an even slenderer allusion: Jacobsen remarked with respect to a quotation from Leviticus about the celebration of Passover that it may also be found in the *Antiquities*, "but Metellus follows the biblical text word for word."[119] In the third instance Metellus cited Josephus when explaining the naming of Jerusalem: "Josephus, the writer of ancient history explains."[120] However, remarked Jacobsen, this does not prove a direct knowledge of the *Antiquities*, but was probably taken from Jerome, *De situ*.[121]

This chapter has aimed only to provide an overview of the substantial literature written in the 12th century about the First Crusade and to establish which of the authors demonstrated a knowledge of the Latin Josephus. Overall, the clearest pattern that reveals itself relates to the writers' perceptions of their likely audiences. From the first decade of the 12th century, learned authors with a literate readership, such as Baldric of Bourgueil, incorporated an array

114 For a short account of Gunther's life and works, see *The Capture of Constantinople: The "Hystoria Constantinopolitana" of Gunther of Pairis*, ed. and trans. Alfred J. Andrea (Philadelphia: 1997), 3–14.

115 "Le *Solymarius* de Günther de Pairis," ed. Wilhelm Wattenbach, *Archives de l'Orient Latin* 1 (1881), 551–61.

116 Metellus von Tegernsee, *Expeditio Ierosolimitana*, ed. Peter Christian Jacobsen, Quellen und Untersuchungen zur Lateinische Philologie des Mittelalters 6 (Stuttgart: 1982).

117 Susan B. Edgington, "Echoes of the *Iliad*: The Trojan War in Latin Epics of the First Crusade," in *Sources for the Crusades: Textual Tradition and Literary Influences*, eds. Léan Ní Chléirigh and Natasha Hodgson (Abingdon: forthcoming).

118 Metellus, *Expeditio*, pt. 3, lines 389–92, ed. Jacobsen, 47 and notes on 154–55 citing Josephus, *Antiquitates*, 2.15.1, ed. Blatt, 212, or Eusebius trans. Jerome, *Chronicon*, ed. Helm, 104a.

119 Metellus, *Expeditio*, pt. 5, lines 644–54, ed. Jacobsen, 114 and notes on 166 citing Lev. 23:11 and Josephus, *Antiquities*, 3.10.5, ed. Blatt, 250; "doch folgt Metellus unmittelbar dem biblischen Wortlaut."

120 Metellus, *Expeditio*, pt. 6, lines 19–27, ed. Jacobsen, 120 and notes on 167–68: "Scriba vetustarum Iosephus probat historiarum."

121 PL 23, col 951.

of classical and post-classical references and citations into their works and displayed a knowledge of the works of Josephus that had reached them by various routes. Other writers, such as the author of the *Gesta Francorum* and Albert of Aachen, adopted a style and approach to the history of the First Crusade that was distinctly popular and their references to classical and later authorities are fewer. In works that did draw on Josephan literature, it appears that the *Antiquities* was more often used than the *War*, especially to provide topographical information about the Holy Land. Work remains to be done on the popular dissemination of ideas and images that may have originated in Josephus. The 'vengeance' theme has already been ably explored, but only close examination of the individual texts will reveal – for example – whether Albert of Aachen's description of the mass suicide of the Jews in Mainz was influenced by Josephus' first-hand account of the suicide pact of A.D. 67.[122] Or did the deed itself reveal knowledge of the precedent? This is probably unknowable, for work on the 'vengeance' theme has revealed that events in Josephus' histories had become literary tropes by the 12th century.

122 Albert of Aachen 1.27, ed. and trans. Edgington, 50–2.

CHAPTER 7

De excidio in England's Long Twelfth Century: A Preliminary Consideration

Karen M. Kletter

In England, as on the continent, the long 12th century was a period of dramatic ecclesiastical, political, and intellectual change. The reorganization and expansion of English ecclesiastical foundations is also closely associated with the Norman invasion, which repositioned the kingdom as part of a continental empire. In both recently founded and existing ecclesiastical foundations, newly appointed abbots and bishops played important roles in establishing new practices in worship and instituting continental definitions of erudition, in part through the building of book collections. As extant manuscripts, booklists, and studies of libraries show, one concern of manuscript production or acquisition after the Conquest, was to increase and replenish the holdings of patristic works, histories, and other aides to exegetical study.[1] Unsurprisingly, then, among the works that were widely copied in England from the late 11th century and into the 13th were the Latin translations of the historical works of

1 Throughout this chapter, I will use the following abbreviations: CBMLC (*Corpus of British Medieval Library Catalogues*) and MLGB (*Medieval Libraries of Great Britain*). Rodney M. Thomson, "The Norman Conquest and English Libraries," in *The Role of the Book in Medieval Culture: Proceedings of the Oxford International Symposium*, ed. P. Ganz (Turnhout: 1986), 27–40; Teresa Webber, "Monastic and Cathedral Book Collections in the Late Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries" in *The Cambridge History of Libraries in Britain and Ireland*, eds. Elisabeth Leedham-Green and Teresa Webber (Cambridge: 2008), 109–125; N.R. Ker, *English Manuscripts in the Century After the Norman Conquest* (Oxford: 1960); Rodney M. Thomson, *Manuscripts from St. Albans Abbey, 1066–1235,* (Woodbridge: 1982), 1–7; R.M. Thomson, "England and the Twelfth-Century Renaissance," *Past & Present* 101 (1983): 3–21; Teresa Webber, "The Patristic Content of English Book Collections in the Eleventh Century: Towards a Continental Perspective," in *On the Making of Books: medieval manuscripts, their scribes and readers: essays presented to M.B. Parkes*, eds. Pamela R. Robinson and Rivkah Zim (Aldershot: 1997), 191–205; Richard Gameson, "Introduction," in *The Manuscripts of Early Norman England (1066–1130)* (Oxford: 1999), 1–41; R.M. Thomson, *Books and Learning in Twelfth-Century England*: *The Ending of 'Alter Orbis',* (Red Gull: 2006); R.M. Thomson, "Monastic and Cathedral Book Production," in *The Cambridge History of the Book in Britain* v. 2: *1100–1400*, eds. Nigel J. Morgan and Rodney M. Thomson (Cambridge: 2008), 136–167, R.M. Thomson, "Scribes and Scriptoria" in *The European Book in the Twelfth Century*, eds. Erik Kwakkel and Rodney Thomson (Cambridge: 2008), 68–84.

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the Hellenized Jewish historian, Flavius Josephus, *Antiquities* and *Jewish War,* which had a long tradition of use by Christian exegetes and historians. Perhaps less predictably, the 4th-century radical 'reworking' of Josephus' *Jewish War*, purportedly translated by St. Ambrose, *De excidio Hierosolymitano*, a text whose content and prose were influenced heavily by both scripture and Latin classics, was also copied in this period at a rate that was comparable to the production of Latin Josephus manuscripts. The contents and reception of *De excidio* have only recently begun to receive attention and their wide circulation in the early and central Middle Ages acknowledged.[2]

A theme that runs throughout this volume, especially in the essays of Carson Bay and Justin Lake, as well as several recently published studies of the reception of Josephan works in Late Antiquity and the early Middle Ages, is the question of how medieval readers viewed the contents of the Josephan corpus and perceived the nature of Josephan authority and the place of *De excidio* within that corpus.[3] Some scholars have seen Josephan and Hegesippan authority in the Middle Ages as almost symbiotic. For example, Richard Pollard, in his pioneering discussion on the increasing use of and reliance on Hegesippus in the early Middle Ages suggested that Josephan authority rested in part on *De excidio*'s "profoundly Christian message."[4] Carson Bay, in his 2021 textual critical study, "On the Multivocality of the Latin Josephus Tradition: A

2 See the essays by Hilliard, Lake, and Ward in this volume on the availability and use of the Latin Josephus and the *De excidio* in the early Middle Ages through the Carolingian period. A foundational essay on *De excidio* is Albert A. Bell, Jr., "Josephus and Pseudo-Hegesippus," in *Josephus, Judaism, and Christianity*, eds. Louis H. Feldman and Gohei Hata (Detroit: 1987), 349–361. See also Richard Pollard's discussion on the increasing use of and reliance on Hegesippus in the early Middle Ages and its bearing on the continued authority of Josephus in "The *De Excidio* of "Hegesippus" and the Reception of Josephus in the Early Middle Ages," *Viator* 46.2 (2015): 65–100. Most recently, the studies of Hegesippus by Carson Bay, while largely focused on the text of *De excidio* and its influence in Late Antiquity, have advanced both the understanding of the interrelationship between *De excidio* and Josephan works, as well as the way this text operated in the context of early medieval historiography and Jewish-Christian relations: Bay, "Writing the Jews out of History: Pseudo-Hegesippus, Classical Historiography, and the Codification of Christian Anti-Judaism in Late Antiquity," *Church History* (2021): 265–285; "On the Multivocality of the Latin Josephus Tradition: A Comparison between the Latin War, Latin Antiquities, Pseudo-Hegesippus, and Rufinus Based on the Egyptian Pseudo-Prophet Episode (*War* 2.261– 263, *Antiquities* 20.169–172a)," *Medievalia et Humanistica*, N.S., 46 (2021): 1–36. On the historical lack of recognition of the influence of *De excidio* that includes an excellent brief overview of issues surrounding the reception of Josephan works in the Middle Ages, see Tommaso Leoni, "Translations and Adaptations of Josephus' Writings in Antiquity and the Middle Ages," *Ostraka* 26 (2007): 481–492.

3 Pollard, "The *De Excidio*," 14.

4 Pollard, "The *De Excidio*," passim.

Comparison between the Latin War, Latin Antiquities, Pseudo-Hegesippus, and Rufinus based on the Egyptian Pseudo-Prophet Episode (*War* 2.261–263, *Antiquities* 20.169–172a)," presented the Latin translations of the authentic works of Josephus, *Antiquities* and *War, De excidio*, and the Latin translation of Eusebius' *Ecclesiastical History*, as central components in a skein of intertwining textual threads that Christian Late Antique and early medieval readers enlisted as sources for a particular sequence in salvation history: the rebellion against Rome that led to Jerusalem's destruction as divine vengeance for Jewish deicide.[5] However, Bay has also argued for a more ambiguous relationship between Josephan and Hegesippan works in the eyes of medieval readers. Having established a unity among the constituent parts of "The Latin Josephus Tradition" in his earlier essay, in his contribution to this volume, "A Rose Among Thorns"? Reading Pseudo-Hegesippus (*De excidio Hierosolymitano*) amid the "Latin Josephus Tradition,"" Bay explores ways medieval readers might have been able to disentangle the constituent parts of the "Latin Josephus Tradition." He highlights differences in content and structure in the two "versions" of the *Jewish War,* the Latin translation attributed to Rufinus and *De excidio,* and surveys early medieval use of Hegesippus. He considers aspects of the text of *De excidio* itself as well as the organization of some manuscripts that contain the work that would seem to make obvious its Christian origins and distinguish it from authentic Josephan works in translation.[6] Bay concludes that the Late Antique and early medieval authors who knew these works are likely to have considered *De excidio* to be an identifiably "Josephan work," though not a work produced by Josephus' own hand.

Though these authors are addressing the nature of the connection of these works in an earlier period, these essays offer a useful starting point for a discussion of the complex relationship between the components of the Latin Josephus Tradition in Anglo-Norman England in the 12th century. They establish ways these works were viewed and used in an earlier period so that new developments can be traced. They suggest a series of questions that may elicit a clearer picture of these works in the context of long 12th-century England, when new copies of all of these works were being produced: What distinctions were made by producers of manuscripts and English readers between Josephan works and *De excidio* in this period? Why might English medieval readers and users of these texts have chosen one work over the other? What

5 Carson Bay, "On the Multivocality of the Latin Josephus Tradition," *passim*.

6 See also Bay, *Biblical Heroes and Classical Culture in Christian Late Antiquity* (Cambridge: 2023), 46–53.

factors and frameworks might have contributed to the development of different perceptions of these works after the early Middle Ages?

A complicated picture of the Latin Josephus Tradition emerges from the 12th century. The conventions that linked the works within the Latin Josephus Tradition in Late Antiquity and the early Middle Ages lingered. The general patterns of acquisition, production, and use of these works in England in the central Middle Ages can be seen, in part, as the result of developments in the characterization and use of these works that began in the Carolingian period.[7] At the same time, intellectual, political, and cultural developments in England and on the continent, some of which were associated with the "twelfth-century renaissance," inevitably shaped or reshaped the status of these works. For example, in the central Middle Ages, interest in Josephan works can be related to exegetical approaches that emphasized the literal or historical sense of scripture, approaches promoted by the school of St. Victor and exemplified in England by the use of his works and other Jewish material by Andrew of St. Victor.[8] Josephus' *Antiquities* were highly influential on the mostly widely used school book of the Middle Ages, Peter Comestor's biblical storybook, the *Historia Scholastica*.[9] Even so, as van Liere notes, the use of this Jewish exegete did not always go unopposed.[10] One might also look to new approaches to historiography and the availability of a greater variety of historical sources as well

7 See the essays of Lake and Ward in this volume. Teresa Webber, "Libraries of Religious Houses," in *The European Book in the Twelfth Century*, eds. E. Kwakkel and R. Thomson (Cambridge: 2018), 103–121, esp. 116.

8 See Beryl Smalley, *The Study of the Bible in the Middle Ages* (Notre Dame, 1964; repr. Notre Dame: 1978), 83–195; Grover A. Zinn, "History and Interpretation; 'Hebrew Truth,' Judaism, and the Victorine exegetical tradition" in *Jews and Christians: Exploring the Past, Present, and Future,* ed. James H. Charlesworth (New York: 1990), 100; Frans van Liere, "Andrew of St. Victor, Jerome, and the Jews: Biblical Scholarship in the Twelfth-Century Renaissance," in *Scripture and Pluralism: Reading the Bible in the Religiously Plural Worlds of the Middle Ages and Renaissance*, eds. Thomas Heffernan and Thomas E. Burman (Leiden: 2005), 59–75; "Josephus at Saint Victor: A First Edition of Andrew of Saint Victor's *Principatum Israelitice Gentis,*" *Journal of Medieval Latin* 26 (2016): 1–29. In this latter article, van Liere publishes the first edition of Andrew of St. Victor's work that covers, in part, the destruction of Jerusalem. The work is made up entirely of modified excerpts from Josephus' *Antiquities* and *Jewish War*.

9 On Josephus and Comestor, see, among others, Saralyn R. Daly, "Peter Comestor: Master of Histories," *Speculum* 32.1 (1957): 62–73; Louis Harry Feldman, "The Jewish Sources of Peter Comestor," in *Begegnungen zwischen Christentum und Judentum in Antike und Mittelalter; Festschrift für Heinz Schreckenberg*, eds. Dietrich-Alex Koch and Hermann Lichtenberger (Göttingen: 1993), 93–121; Mark Clark, *The Making of the Historia Scholastica 1150–1200* (Toronto: 2015) and his "Peter Comestor: The Christian Josephus," in *Mélanges Gilbert Dahan*, ed. A. Noblesse (Paris: Publications de l'Institut d'Etudes Augustiniennes) (forthcoming).

10 Van Liere, "Josephus at St. Victor," 2–5.

as a greater engagement in historical writing.[11] Interest in the historical works of Josephus and *de excidio* can also be related to the crusading movement, the history and geography of the Holy Land, and perhaps liturgy and exegesis related to crusading, particularly in late twelfth-century England.[12]

The aim of this essay is to survey and assemble evidence related to the reception of *De excidio* in England in the central Middle Ages, and in particular to note symptoms of change in the dynamic of the Latin Josephus Tradition. Since this is a preliminary overview, I will confine my discussion to a few specific changes that seem to me to be particularly significant, bringing in points about the reception of Josephus in this period for comparison. The essay will first focus on the English manuscript tradition of these three works and their reception. I will then move to an examination of specific ways in which the text of *De excidio* was utilized by some English historians in this period.

1 Manuscript Production and Book Lists

The most compelling evidence for a renewed significance of both the Latin translations of Josephus' historical works and *De excidio* in post-Conquest England is that of the surviving manuscripts themselves as well as what can be

11 Studies of the writing of history in Anglo-Norman England are more than abundant. A partial sample of seminal and/or helpful works include: A. Gransden, *Historical Writing in England c.550-to c. 1307*, 2 vols (London: 1974–82); R. W. Southern's collected Presidential Addresses: *History and Historians: Selected Papers of R. W. Southern*, ed. Robert Bartlett (London: 2004); Nancy Partner, *Serious Entertainments* (Chicago: 1997); Chris Given-Wilson, *Chronicles: The Writing of History in Medieval England* (Hambledon: 2004); Michael Staunton, *The Historians of Angevin England* (Oxford: 2017); Selected essays in *Writing History in the Anglo-Norman World*, eds. Laura Cleaver and Andrea Worm (York: 2018); George Garnett, *The Norman Conquest in English History: A Broken Chain?* (Oxford: 2020); Henry Bainton, *History and the Written Word* (Philadelphia: 2020). On Roman history in the context of 12th-century British historical writing, see Lars Boje Mortensen, "Roman Past and Roman Language in Twelfth-Century English Historiography," in *Conceptualizing Multilingualism in England, c. 800–1250*, ed. Elizabeth M. Tyler (Turnhout: 2011), 309–32.

12 See Edgington and Yolles in this volume. See also Amnon Linder, "Jews and Judaism in the Eyes of Christian Thinkers of the Middle Ages: The Destruction of Jerusalem in Medieval Christian Liturgy" in *From Witness to Witchcraft*, ed. Jeremy Cohen (Wiesbaden: 1996), 113–123; A. Grabois,"The Description of Jerusalem by William of Malmesbury: A Mirror of the Holy Land's Presence in the Anglo-Norman Mind," *Anglo-Norman Studies* 13, Proceedings of the Battle Conference (1990): 145–156; Nicholas Vincent, "William of Newburgh, Josephus and the New Titus" in *Christians and Jews in Angevin England*, eds. Sarah Rees Jones and Sethina Watson (York: 2013), 91–105; Michael Staunton, "The Loss of Jerusalem and the Third Crusade" in Michael Staunton, *The Historians of Angevin England,* 216–235.

gleaned from book lists. Hilliard's essay in this volume shows that there was a well-established tradition of the use of these works in pre-Conquest England. While no early medieval manuscripts of these works produced in or brought into England survive, there is evidence to suggest that early medieval copies of the Latin Josephus and *De excidio* were circulating in post-Conquest England. A Bury St. Edmunds booklist begun in the third quarter of the 12th century has several entries for volumes of Josephus and one for *De excidio*.[13] A later 12th-century reviser of the list included some of the volumes from the original inventory. There is no mention of a manuscript of *De excidio* in the revised list, however, two copies of the Latin Josephus are noted. The first is described as "*vetus*" (B13.236), and the second is a manuscript whose brief description (*Item Iosephus in duobus voluminibus*) (B13.237) corresponds to the format of numerous surviving mid to late 12th-century copies.[14] Other evidence comes in the form of a letter from Herbert Losinga, the Norman-born Bishop of Norwich from 1100–1119, written to an Abbot Richard, possibly of St. Albans, within the first decade of Herbert's tenure. The letter contains inquiries about books Herbert would like to borrow for copying, including a manuscript simply referred to as "Josephus" (Josephum), the *Letters* of Augustine and Jerome, and a recently compiled lectionary. Herbert writes that Richard's earlier objections to lending out the Josephus manuscript due to the binding having become undone were now irrelevant because the book had been restored and properly bound.[15] As R.M. Thomson notes, it cannot be the case, if Richard can be identified as the abbot of St. Alban's, that the book referred to is the splendid two-volume copy from St. Albans that dates from between 1120–1140, so Herbert was apparently referring to an older Josephus manuscript held there, which was not, as was also the case at Bury, replaced by the newer work.[16] Close in time to Herbert's search for books, a manuscript of *De excidio* was copied among other, mostly patristic, works under the direction of the Italian Abbot Faricius (1100–17), previously cellarer at St. Albans, who began a small scriptorium of six scribes

13 The tenth and eleventh items on the list are "Iosephus in .ii°. volumina" (B13.10) followed by "Egesippus" (B13.11): *English Benedictine Libraries: The Shorter Catalogues*, eds. R. Sharpe, J.P. Carley, R.M. Thomson, A.G. Watson *CBMLC*, v. 4 (London: 1996), 54.

14 *English Benedictine Libraries: The Shorter Catalogues,* 85.

15 *Epistolae Herberti de Losinga, Primi Episcopi Norwicensis*, ed. Robert Anstruther (Brussels: A. Vandale, London: D. Nutt, 1846; repr. New York: 1969), 46.

16 R.M. Thomson, *Manuscripts from St. Albans Abbey, 1066–1235* (Woodbridge, Suffolk: 1982, repr. 1985), 15–16; Teresa Webber, *Scribes and Scholars at Salisbury Cathedral c. 1075–c. 1125* (Oxford: 1992), 45; Gameson, *Manuscripts of Early Norman England*, 7; B. Dodwell, "The Foundation of Norwich Cathedral," *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society* 7 (1957): 1–18, esp. 3–9.

at Abingdon.[17] Both a bishop's inquiry regarding an exemplar of a Josephan text and the organization of a temporary scriptorium to provide content for an abbey's book collection are hardly unusual at the opening of the 12th century. Nor, perhaps, is seeking texts within the Latin Josephus Tradition alongside works by Latin Fathers or a recently compiled lectionary. These examples are illustrative of the context in which new copies of these works were acquired.

The increase in the production of Josephan histories and *De excidio* in this period is not unique to England. In the case of Latin translations of Josephus' authentic works, according to Richard Pollard, over 300 manuscripts of the Latin translations of Josephus in various configurations have survived.[18] Franz Blatt catalogued 171 manuscripts of *Antiquities*, many of which also contain *Jewish War*, over 100 of which date from between the 11th and the 13th centuries. Many of these copies were made in or held by ecclesiastical institutions in northwestern Europe.[19]

Twenty English manuscripts of Latin translations of Josephan works are extant, although the Canterbury and St. Albans manuscripts are both halves of double volume sets.[20] The earliest Josephus manuscripts were probably produced in the first two decades of the 12th century. R.A.B. Mynors, the cataloguer of the extant manuscripts of Durham Cathedral, dated the Durham

17 This early 12th-century booklist from the Benedictine abbey at Abingdon is preserved in London BL Cotton Vitellius A.xiii folios 83–90: *Historia Ecclesie Abbendonensis: The History of the Church of Abingdon*, vol. 1, ed. and trans. John Hudson (Oxford: Clarendon, 2007), cvi–cvii. See also: *English Benedictine Libraries: The Shorter Catalogues,* 5–7 (B2.4–7); Gameson, *Manuscripts of Early Norman England,* 10–11. Among the other works Faricius had copied were Augustine's *City of God* and his *Treatise on the Gospel of John*, as well as, perhaps, other Augustinian works, Gregory's *Homilies*, an unidentified work by Jerome "on the Old Testament," St. Ambrose's *Concerning Duties*, John Chrysostom's *Concerning the Redemption of the Fall,* Bede's *Homilies,* and Cyprian's *Letters*, and, perhaps, Cassiodorus' *Commentary on the Psalms.*

18 Jean-Félix Aubé-Pronce and Richard Matthew Pollard, "Annotating Flavius Josephus in the Early Middle Ages: Early Impressions from Thousands of Notes," *Medievalia et Humanistica* N.S. 46 (2021): 170–171; Levenson and Martin, "The Ancient Latin Translations of Josephus," in *Companion to Josephus,* 322–323.

19 Blatt, 107–111.

20 Standard breakdown in English two-volume sets generally follow the Canterbury divisions: Canterbury volume: Volume One – Cambridge, University Library MS Dd.1.4. (*Antiquities* I–XIV) and Volume Two – Cambridge, St. John's College, MS 8 (A.8.) (*Antiquities* XV–XX, *Jewish War* I–VII); Ulrike Liebl, *Die illustrierten Flavius-Josephus-Handschriften des Hochmittelalters* (Frankfurt am Main: 1997), 23. For fragments and excerpts of Josephus, see Karen M. Kletter, "Uses of Josephus"" (unpublished dissertation, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, 2005), 151–157.

manuscript of Josephus from between the late 11th and early 12th century (single volume, *Antiquities* and *Jewish War*).[21] The Canterbury manuscript (early 12th century, double-volume set, *Antiquities* and *Jewish War*) probably dates from the first quarter of the 12th century.[22] Other manuscripts that have a known provenance come from the Benedictine abbey of St. Albans (1120–1140, double-volume set, *Antiquities* and *Jewish War*),[23] Monkland Priory, a Benedictine alien priory and cell of the Norman abbey of Conches (mid-12th century, single volume, Antiquities I–XX),[24] the Benedictine Priory of Hertford (12th century, single volume, *Antiquities* and *Jewish War*),[25] Lincoln Cathedral (mid-12th century, single volume, *Antiquities* and *Jewish War*),[26] the Cistercian Abbey of Merevale in Warwickshire (12th-13th centuries, *Antiquities* I–XX),[27] Worcester Cathedral (13th-14th centuries, single volume, *Antiquities* and *Jewish War*),[28] and York Minster (12th-13th centuries, first half of two-volume set).[29] Oxford, Merton College 316, probably produced in the third quarter of the 12th century,[30] and London, BL Burney

21 Blatt, 90 (no. 160); *MLGB*, 66; MS 85 in R.A.B. Mynors, *Durham Cathedral Manuscripts to the End of the Twelfth Century* (Oxford: 1939), 46, 60, 32; Dated to the mid-12th century in *Medieval Libraries of Great Britain: Supplement to the second edition*, ed. Andrew G. Watson (London: 1987), 22.

22 Blatt, 89 (no. 157); *MLGB*, 29; M.R. James, *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Manuscripts in the Library of St. John's College* (Cambridge: 1913), 9–10; T. Webber, "Script and Manuscript Production at Christ Church, Canterbury, after the Norman Conquest," in *Canterbury and the Norman Conquest: Churches, Saints and Scholars, 1066–1109*, eds. R. Eales and R. Sharpe (London: 1995), 145–58.

23 Blatt, 91 (no. 163); MLGB, 167; R.M. Thomson, *Manuscripts from St. Albans Abbey*, 1066–1235 vol. 1 (Woodbridge, Suffolk: 1982, repr. 1985), 16, 23, 26, 33, 39, 56, 73; *The Libraries of King Henry VIII*, ed. James P. Carley CBMLC vol. 7 (London: 2000), 66, no. 239; 200, no. 1158.

24 Now Cambridge, Trinity Hall, MS 4; Blatt, 89 (no. 158); M.R. James, *The Western Manuscripts in the Library of Trinity College, Cambridge: A Descriptive Catalogue* vol. 4 (Cambridge: 1900–1904), 6–7.

25 Now Glasgow, Hunterian Museum Library MS 4; Blatt, 90 (no. 162); *MLGB*, 101; John Young and P. Henderson Aitken, *Catalogue of the Manuscripts in the Library of the Hunterian Museum in the University of Glasgow* (Glasgow: 1908), 6–7. Hertford, Benedictine Priory of the BVM was a cell of St. Albans.

26 Lincoln Cathedral Library MS C.1.6. (145); Blatt, 90 (no. 161); *MLGB*, 117; R.M. Thomson, *Catalogue of the Manuscripts of Lincoln Cathedral Chapter Library* (Woodbridge, Suffolk, 1989), 112–113.

27 Now Winchester, Winchester College MS 6; Blatt, 92 (no. 165); *MLGB*, 130.

28 Rodney M. Thomson and Michael Gullick, *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Medieval Manuscripts in Worcester Cathedral Library* (Woodbridge: 2001), 9; Blatt, 92–93 (no. 167).

29 Blatt, 93 (no. 165).

30 R.M. Thomson, *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Medieval Manuscripts at Merton College, Oxford* (Cambridge: 2009), 244–5.

325, a 13th-century manuscript from the Franciscan convent of Coventry, are copies of *Jewish War* alone.[31]

The relative quantity of *De excidio* manuscripts is difficult to assess because there has been so little research on the manuscript tradition of this work. Although the catalogue of *Antiquities* manuscripts produced by Blatt was received with some criticism, it established a foundation for further studies of the extensive manuscript tradition of *Antiquities* and, to an extent, for *War*.[32] To date the most thorough listing of *De excidio* manuscripts is the register of 97 manuscripts and excerpts produced from the 5th to the early 16th century in Carson Bay's *Biblical Heroes and Classical Culture*, 34 of which date from between the 11th and the 13th centuries.[33]

Fifteen manuscripts of *De excidio* that were either produced or brought into England survive. Of those copies, those of known provenance are from the Augustinian Abbey of Hexham,[34] the Benedictine priory of St. Andrews at Rochester Cathedral,[35] Chichester Cathedral Church of Holy Trinity,[36] the Augustinian Abbey of the Holy Cross at Waltham,[37] the Augustinian priory of Lanthony (two copies),[38] the Augustinian abbey of Cirencester, the Benedictine Cathedral Priory of St. Peter, St. Paul, and St. Swithun of Winchester Cathedral, and the Benedictine Cathedral Priory of St. Mary the Virgin at Worcester Cathedral (see Appendix).

To the manuscript evidence can be added numerous entries in medieval booklists. It is notable that there appears to be little overlap in these two layers of evidence for the situation of these works in England. Booklists created before the end of the 12th century show that copies of the works of Josephus in a variety of configurations were at the Benedictine abbey of Bury

31 Now London, BL Harley 5116; *MLGB*, 55; Blatt, 112–113.

32 Levenson and Martin, "Ancient Latin Translations of Josephus," 327. On Blatt's edition and stemma, see, for example, Robert Browning, "Review: The Latin Josephus," *The Classical Review* (1960): 44–46 and J.A. Willis, "Review: The Latin Josephus," *Journal of Roman Studies* 51 (1961): 272–273.

33 Bay, *Biblical Heroes and Classical Culture*, 25–30.

34 *MLGB,* 101; Gameson, *Manuscripts of Early Norman England* (*1066–1130*), 61, (no. 59) dates this manuscript to the first quarter of the 12th century.

35 Now Edinburgh, National Library of Scotland, Advocates MS 18.3.9; *English Benedictine Libraries: The Shorter Catalogues* (B77.53), 483; *MLGB*, 161.

36 Now Glasgow, UL Hunterian 20; John Young, *A Catalogue of the Manuscripts of the Hunterian Museum in the University of Glasgow* (Glasgow: 1908), 20–21; *MLGB*, 50.

37 *MLGB,* 192.

38 M.R. James and Claude Jenkins, *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Manuscripts in the Library of Lambeth Palace* vol. 1 (Cambridge: 1932), 272–277; M.R. James, *The Manuscripts in the Library at Lambeth Palace* (Cambridge, 1900), 27.

St. Edmunds,[39] Durham Cathedral,[40] Peterborough,[41] the Benedictine Abbey of Reading,[42] Whitby, the Benedictine Abbey of St. Peter and St. Hilda,[43] the Cistercian Abbey of Rievaulx,[44] the Cistercian Abbey of Meaux,[45] and Lincoln Cathedral.[46] Copies of *De excidio* were at the Benedictine abbey of Abingdon, Bury St. Edmonds, the Benedictine abbey of Reading, Rochester Cathedral (an extant copy), and the Cistercian abbey of Rievaulx.[47]

As can be seen from the discussion above and the register in the appendix of this essay, by the 13th century, the medieval English libraries that contained manuscripts of the *De excidio* and the Latin Josephus represent a wide spectrum of ecclesiastical institutions, though the earliest acquisition or production of these works took place largely in or for Benedictine establishments. The surviving manuscripts suggest that the quantity of Latin Josephus and *De excidio* manuscripts in England were roughly equivalent, and that *De excidio* seems to have been reintroduced into England at an earlier date than *Antiquities* and *War.* In the mid-12th century, a relatively small number of libraries owned copies of both *De excidio* and Josephus' histories. Later medieval catalogues show that numerous libraries owned both Josephan works and *De excidio*.[48] It seems

39 Bury St. Edmunds Library Catalogue, *English Benedictine Libraries: The Shorter Catalogues,* 54 (B13.10).

40 Durham Cathedral MS B.II.1; Blatt, 90 (no. 160); *MLGB*, 66; R. A. B. Mynors, *Durham Cathedral Manuscripts,* no. 85, pp. 46, 60. The second work in this volume has been misidentified by Helmut Gneuss and Michael Lapidge as a copy of *De excidio* but it seems to be a copy of the standard Latin translation of Josephus' *Jewish War*. See: Item 225.5 in *Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts: A Bibliographical Handlist of Manuscripts and Manuscript Fragments Written or Owned in England up to 1100* (Toronto: 2014), 184. The manuscript is digitized and available on Durham Cathedral's website. *War* begins on fol.189v.

41 Petersborough, early 12th-century catalogue: *Peterborough Abbey*, eds. Karsten Friis-Jensen and James M.W. Willoughby CBMLC vol. 8 (London: 1990), BP2.21 "Iosephus antiquitatum," 11; Michael Lapidge, *Anglo-Saxon Libraries* (Oxford: 2005), 143–147.

42 *English Benedictine Libraries: The Shorter Catalogues;* Catalogue of 1192: B71.82 "Iosephus in duobus voluminibus" (followed by "Egesippus in uno volumine" B71.83), 432–3; Laura Cleaver, "History Books at Reading in the Twelfth Century," *Reading Medieval Studies* v. XLII, eds. M. Carolina Escobar-Vargas and Laura Cleaver (2016): 26.

43 *English Benedictine Libraries: The Shorter Catalogues*: late 12th-century catalogues, 635 (B109.17): "Iosephus."

44 *The Libraries of Cistercians, Gilbertines, and Premonstratensians*, ed. David Bell CBMLC vol. 3 (London: 1990), (Z19.54–55a).

45 *The Libraries of Cistercians, Gilbertines, and Premonstratensians*, 74 (Z14 293): "a Egesippus de excidio Ierosomitane et b Priscianus magnus."

46 Lincoln Cathedral Library MS C.1.6. (145); Blatt, 90 (no. 161); *MLGB*, 117; R. M. Thomson, *Catalogue of the Manuscripts of Lincoln Cathedral Chapter Library*, 112–113.

47 See entries in the Appendix for further detail.

48 See booklists in the Appendix.

sensible to see this in the light of desiring comprehensiveness in a book collection rather than as the acquisition of competing narratives of the *War*.

Distinctions between these different texts were negotiated on a variety of levels by their early medieval users. In the 9th century, as Lake and Ward show in their discussions, Frechulf of Lisieux used both the *De excidio* and the Latin Josephus to provide source material for his *Historia*. Lake points out Frechulf's shifting between the two authors sometimes because the critical tone of *De excidio* was what was wanted, but also because different information was presented in these two works or for the sake of clarity, where the Josephan text was easier to understand.[49] These kinds of textual negotiations illustrate a recognition of differences in content and style of *War* and *De excidio* but also suggest that both texts were accepted as more or less equally authoritative, as demonstrated by the user's perception of their compatibility as source material. 12th-century readers used these texts differently, but, like earlier medieval readers, were apparently willing to juggle some irreconcilable details and accept a certain amount of ambiguity about the nature and origins of *De excidio* certainly in part because they accepted as confirmation of its authority and usefulness Patristic and Late Antique attention to the text.

Paul Hilliard laid out in his essay the patristic legacy of using and promoting the works of Josephus and emphasized the roles of St. Jerome, Cassiodorus, and Eusebius in early medieval England. The works of these authors were also forces in the choices to acquire specific works in post-Conquest English ecclesiastical settings. Both Jerome's translation and additions to *De viris illustribus* and Cassiodorus' *Institutes* offered a kind of reading program and functioned as reference books of Christian and non-Christian literature and both included Josephus specifically as a historical source, who was compared by both to Livy.[50] Jerome's entry on Josephus in *De viris illustribus* outlines his career, his works, as Jerome understood them, and his association with Titus and Vespasian. Jerome notes that Book Eighteen of *Antiquities* contains Josephus' admission that Pharisees killed Christ, that John the Baptist was a recognized prophet, and that the root cause of Jerusalem's destruction was the murder of James the Just. The chapter ends with a version of the *Testimonium Flavianum*. Jerome's chapter on Josephus serves as an accessus for most of the manuscripts produced in

49 See Ward's and Lake's essays in this volume.

50 Jerome, *Epistola XXII*.35, *Sancti Eusebii Hieronymi Epistulae*, ed. Isidorus Hilberg. CSEL 54 (Vienna: 1910), 200; Cassiodorus, *Institutiones divinarum et saecularium litterarum*, ed. R.A.B. Mynors, (Oxford: 1937), 1.17, 55; Marek Starowieyski, "Les commentaries bibliques patristiques dans le *De viris illustribus* de S. Jérôme," *Studia Patristica* 34 (2001): 459–469.

England, and two produced in Northern France, all related, by Blatt, to one another in his Anglo-Norman family of manuscripts.[51] Jerome's *De viris illustribus* also contains an entry for Hegesippus, but the details, including the dating of his life and career and Jerome's description of the concerns of his works (idolatry), clearly cannot refer to the author of *De excidio*.[52]

Perhaps the most important element of *De viris'* entry on Hegesippus is the noting of the five-book structure of Hegesippus' history or "memoir." *De excidio*'s five books open with a prologue that announces the structure of the work, self-consciously chosen by the author of the *De excidio* to invoke Sallust's (lost) *Historia* in five books. The rearrangement of the content makes it incongruent with the organization of *De excidio's* most important source, the seven books of Josephus' *War*. The identification between Sallust and *De excidio* was undoubtedly furthered by many parallels between the language of *De excidio* and Sallust's *Jugurthine War* and *Cataline's War,* which likely raised the status of *De excidio* as a stylistic model.[53]

De excidio's place in the Christian historical canon was likely reinforced by its connections with other seminal works of Late Antiquity, dubious though many of those connections may have been. For example, the 2nd-century church historian Hegesippus, certainly not the author of *De excidio* but conceivably mistaken for him, was mentioned in Eusebius' *Ecclesiastical History*. Medieval readers of the *De excidio* who were familiar with the Latin Eusebius would also have found many connections between the Eusebian account of Jerusalem's destruction and *De excidio* that would have further supported the narrative and many of its themes.[54] One surviving manuscript, Cambridge, University Library MS Kk.1.27, is identified as "*Sancti Egesippi Historia de Machabeis atque Judeis*," clearly conflating the 2nd-century Hegesippus and the author of *De excidio.*[55] In fact, *De excidio* represented a view of Jewish Jerusalem's destruction that could be found in a number of early Christian sources, as has been discussed by other authors in this volume. *De excidio* was a foundational text in anti-Jewish historiography, yet a distinctly derivative one in that much of it could be associated with previous authoritative works of history, exegesis, and

51 Blatt, 87–94.

52 *De viris illustribus* in *Gerolamo. Gli uomini illustri*, ed. A. Ceresa-Gastaldo (Florence: 1988), 116–117.

53 Justin A. Stover and George Woudhuysen, "Historiarum Libri Quinque: Hegesippus Between Josephus and Sallust" *Histos* 16 (2022): 1–27; Bay, *Biblical Heroes and Classical Culture*, 55. See Lake and Ward on *De excidio* as a stylistic model.

54 Pollard, "The *De excidio*," 35, 36.

55 *A Catalogue of the Manuscripts Preserved in the Library of the University of Cambridge,* ed. H.R. Luard 3 (Cambridge: 2011), 596–7.

polemic and often quotations that were attributed to Josephus or *De excidio* were derived from authoritative intermediary works, such as the *Ecclesiastica Historia* of Eusebius.[56]

De excidio had other patristic bona fides in its connection to Ambrose, who was put forward at different times as its author and as its translator.[57] Cassiodorus mentioned Ambrose among the possible translators (the others being Jerome and Rufinus) of a 7-book history of the "*Captivitatis Iudaicae,*" which would seem to be a reference to Josephus' *Jewish War*, but the phrase also echoes the first sentence of *De excidio:* "*Quatuor libros regnorum quos Scriptura complexa est sacra, et jam ipse stylo brevi prosecutus usque ad captivitatem Judaeorum murique excidium et Babylonis triumphos, historiae in morem composui.*"[58] The attribution to Ambrose as translator – based on manuscript evidence – appears in the 9th or 10th century.[59] There may be very little foundation, then, for this attribution, other than a desire to find an authentic, accepted, and recognizable figure on which to rest the text's legitimacy. However, I find Carson Bay's observation in response to the continued proposition that Ambrose wrote (or translated) *De excidio* compelling. Bay points out that readers who knew the work of Ambrose may have heard echoes of it in the *De excidio*. He notes that the relative dating of *De excidio* and the erudition of its author suggest that the work was produced by someone within the same 4th-century intellectual milieu as Ambrose. In Bay's opinion, "it is undeniable that *De excidio* betrays more lexical, thematic, and ideological overlap with Ambrose than with any other Christian author."[60]

56 See Hilliard in this volume; Carson Bay, "Writing the Jews out of History"; Gohei Hata, "The Use and Misuse of Josephus in Eusebius' *Ecclesiastical History*: Books 2 and 3," in *Studies in Josephus and the Varieties of Ancient Judaism: Louis H. Feldman Jubilee Volume*, eds. Louis H. Feldman, Shaye J.D. Cohen, Joshua Schwartz (Leiden: 2007), 91–102; Pollard, "The *De Excidio* of "Hegesippus,""19–20 (and notes); Michael Hardwick, *Josephus as an Historical Source in Patristic Literature through Eusebius* (Atlanta, GA: 1989), 72–90, 122–124; Stephen K. Wright, *The Vengeance of our Lord: Medieval Dramatizations of the Destruction of Jerusalem* (Toronto: 1989), 24–28; Heinz Schreckenberg, *Rezeptionsgeschichtiche und Textkritische Untersuchungen zu Flavius Josephus* (Leiden: 1977) 53–68; Carson Bay, "Pseudo-Hegesippus and the Beginnings of Christian Historiography in Late Antiquity," *Studia Patristica* 126 (2021): 255–266.

57 See Bay's essay in this volume.

58 Ussani, 5; Cassiodorus, *Inst.*, 1.17, 55.

59 Albert A. Bell, Jr., "An Historiographical Analysis of the *De Excidio Hierosolymitano* of Pseudo-Hegesippus" (PhD Dissertation, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, NC, 1977), 4, 23–4; Ussani, 4–5; Pollard, "The *De Excidio"* 15–16, 25–6.

60 Bay, *Biblical Heroes and Classical Culture*, 18–19.

The tradition of Ambrose as translator of *De excidio* persisted through the central Middle Ages. It appears in glosses in English manuscripts of *De excidio*, for example, in BL Harley 59, at the end of the prologue, a pointing finger in the right margin indicates a reference to the text being translated from Greek to Latin by Ambrose.[61] On fol. 42 of Cambridge, University Library MS Kk.1.27 (1961), the following note appears: "*Beatissimi Ambrosii Episcopi translatio ex Josepho*."[62] Ambrose's *Hexameron* was added to Lambeth Palace Library MS 378, a 12th-century compilation manuscript originally from Lanthony and containing two books of *De excidio* under the title "*duo libri Egisippi de victoriis Romanorum.*"[63] In the *Registrum Anglie*, the Franciscan "union catalogue" of the holdings of patristic and early medieval exegetical works in English ecclesiastical book collections, entries for copies of *De excidio* at Exeter Cathedral, Chester (the Benedictine Abbey of St. Werburg), Guisburough (the Augustinian Priory of B.V.M.), and Durham Cathedral identify "Hegesippus" as a translation by Ambrose (*Egesippus ab Ambrosio translatus*).[64] The same is true of Henry of Kirkstede's catalogue in which Egesippus is listed in its own category, under the works of Josephus, and the works of Ambrose.[65]

The perpetual uncertainties about the work I refer to as *De excidio* extend to its title. Clearly no standard title emerged for the text after the early Middle Ages. In our period, the most prevalent title assigned to the work is the name posterity gave to its author, "Egesippus," a title acquired by the 9th century and normalized by the late 11th. The standard explanation for this authorial attribution is that "Egesippus" was the result of a misreading of some form of "Josephus."[66] It is difficult to know what to make of this label if the work was supposedly written by Josephus and translated by Ambrose. The issue of the author of *De excidio* and its original title are discussed (but not resolved) in a number of essays and are not entirely relevant to the central Middle Ages. Of course, readers and producers of books need recognizable and consistent

61 *The Libraries of the Augustinian Canons,* eds. Teresa Webber and A.G. Watson CBMLC vol. 6 (London: British Library, 1997), 428.

62 *A Catalogue of the Manuscripts Preserved in the Library of the University of Cambridge*, ed. H.R. Luard. vol. 3 (Cambridge, 2011), 597.

63 M.R. James and Claude Jenkins, *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Manuscripts in the Library of Lambeth Palace*, Part IV: 521–522.

64 *Registrum Anglie de libris doctorum et auctorum veterum*, eds. Richard and Mary Rouse CBMLC vol. 2 (London: 1991), 249, 265, 270, 285, 296, 310, 312.

65 *Henry of Kirkestede, Catalogus De Libris Autenticis et Apocrifis*, eds. Richard H. Rouse and Mary A. Rouse, CBMLC vol. 11 (London: 2004), 84 (K2.27), 203–204 (K163.1–3), 323–324 (K296.1–6).

66 Bell, "Josephus and Pseudo-Hegesippus," 350–351; Pollard, "The *De Excidio*," 14–17.

titles for reference, so it is noteworthy that there is variety in the titles, subtitles, notations, and descriptions of contents in manuscripts and booklists relating to *De excidio* in medieval England. In some catalogues, it is noted that "Egesippus" is a work in a single volume.[67] *De excidio* is a short work with a total of 87,361 words and is most often found in single-volumes if it is not packaged with other works.[68] It may be that the description of these volumes was meant to aid in identification and to avoid confusion with the historical works of Josephus, which often circulated in a double-volume format.

Perhaps the most noteworthy designation is the title *De Excidio Judeorum*, found in MS BL Harley 1334, a manuscript from the second half of the 12th century; Oxford, Bodl. MS 697, a late 12th- century manuscript; and a 15th-century catalog from Leicester Abbey. In fact, in the latter it is repeated, and the entry corrected in an extension of the list. The prologue of the Chichester *De excidio* adds this title to the chapter count. The volume is introduced with the phrase: "*INcipiuNt quinque libRi hegesippi … natione iudei … de | excidio iudeorum editi*." The early 18th-century binding of the Hunterian manuscript repeats this, bearing the title "*Hegesippus|De Excidio|Iudaeorum*."[69] It may be the case that these alternative titles, subtitles, and glosses were meant to signal which version of the destruction of Jerusalem one was reading, and thus served to differentiate the *De excidio* from *Jewish War*, though, as I will discuss, the disparities in the physical features of the manuscripts and the difference in the use of these works make this questionable. But clearly, especially in the case of "*De Excidio Iudaeorum*" they were not meant to be literal. There were certainly Jews in England in the central Middle Ages. In an earlier essay, I wrote about how accounts of the destruction of Jerusalem can be read as the political death of the remnants of Jewish self-rule.[70] Thus, I believe, the account in *De excidio*, can also be read as the story of (and the inexorable movement toward) the end of a Jewish polity, brought to finality with the fall of its central locus of

67 In surviving manuscripts: London, Lambeth Palace 173, entry in Reading's late 12th-century catalogue (Egesippus in uno volumine), Rochester catalogue c. 1202 (Egesippus in.i. volumine); Rievaulx's 13th-century copy of late 12th-century list (Historia Egesippi in uno volumine).

68 Bay, *Biblical Heroes and Classical Culture*, 48.

69 In contrast, a 15th-century list of contents of a 12th-century mixed manuscript containing works by Alcuin and Basil and books II and III of *De excidio* gives the work the title "*In duo libri Egisippi de victoriis romanorum*."

70 "Politics, Prophecy, and Jews: The Destruction of Jerusalem in Anglo-Norman Historiography" in *Jews in Medieval Christendom: Slay Them Not*, eds. Kristine T. Utterback and Merrall L. Price (Leiden: 2013), 91–115.

power, a fall that fulfilled, retroactively, both Christian messianic and political expectations.[71]

2 Manuscripts – Description and Comparison

Over the course of the 12th century in England there was a striking change in the format, organization, and decorative elements in English Josephus manuscripts, the driving force of which seems to have come from the continent. New English copies of the Latin Josephus were influenced in terms of format and decoration by the style of Josephus manuscripts produced "especially in the Mosan region, the Middle and Lower Rhineland and Northeastern France."[72] The codicological changes in Josephus manuscripts were not reflected in manuscripts of *De excidio.* The 12th-century Anglo-Norman family of Latin Josephus manuscripts is significantly composed of one and two-volume, large-format, double-columned, very well-decorated volumes of significant height that combine *Antiquities* and *War*.[73] The first volume of the Canterbury Josephus, written in double-columns, measures 410mm x 290mm, and bears markings that might have served to assist reading aloud, suggesting it was used in the context of the monastic liturgy and *lectio divina*, possibly in connection with refectory or choral readings.[74]

A number of manuscripts in this family were produced in formats that facilitated reading aloud and use in services, especially in regard to size: Valencia, Biblioteca de la Catedral, 29, a 12th-century manuscript of *Antiquities* and *Jewish War* measures 440 x 340 (2 columns, Blatt 156), Oxford Bodl. Auct. E inf. 3, a 13th-century, double-column manuscript of *Antiquities and Jewish War* measures 410 x 300 (Blatt 164), London Royal 13 E VIII 13–14 measures 42.5 x 31 (Blatt 166). There is no surviving Norwich manuscript of the works of Josephus, but Teresa Webber noted that in the *Customary of Norwich*, an unspecified portion of

71 On messianic expectations in Eusebius and Josephus, see Doron Mendels, "The Sources of the *Ecclesiastical History* of Eusebius: The case of Josephus," in *L'Historiographie de L'Église des Premiers Siècles,* eds. Bernard Pouderon and Yves-Marie Duval (Paris: 2001), 195–205.

72 Walter Cahn, "An Illustrated Josephus from the Meuse Region in Merton College, Oxford," *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte* 29. 4 (1966): 296. See also: Liebl, *Die illustrierten Flavius-Josephus-Handschriften des Hochmittelalters*, 42–45; Blatt, 15–16.

73 Blatt, 87–94. See the list of manuscripts above. Ulrike Liebl, *Die illustrierten Flavius-Josephus-Handschriften des Hochmittelalters*, 20–23; Cahn, "An Illustrated Josephus from the Meuse Region in Merton College, Oxford."

74 Liebl, *Die illustrierten Flavius-Josephus-Handschriften des Hochmittelalters,* 42–3.

Josephus and Augustine's *Enarrationes in psalmos* followed a set reading from the Bible "between the Octave of Trinity and the end of August:" "et postea Iosephus et Augustinus super psalterium."[75]

In addition to size and in contrast to northwestern European Josephus manuscripts produced in the early Middle Ages, manuscripts produced in the high Middle Ages were generally better organized and designed to aid readers. Present in many of these volumes are book and chapter divisions, incipit and explicit formulas. Decorative elements, different sizes of fonts, unwritten space, and gradations of color are used in identifying different elements of the books' hierarchical structure. Book, chapter, and introductory sentences, as well as subsections, are generally identified by initials of different importance. Primary and secondary initials are used to mark chapters and book headings, with primary initials reserved mostly for the openings of books and the *Testimonium Flavianianum*.[76] The lavish illuminations of the Canterbury manuscript include a portrait of Josephus dictating to a tonsured scribe in monastic garb labeled Samuel, who holds up a copy of the manuscript that contains a portion of the *Testimonium Flavianum*.[77] The St. Alban's Josephus, which contains a number of well-known decorated initials, has been linked through a common set of motifs to the St. Albans Psalter.[78] Durham, Lincoln, and Trinity Hall copies were also richly decorated.[79]

Neil Ker and Ulrike Liebl saw the revisions to the manuscript format and the establishment of decorative elements related to biblical themes in Latin Josephus manuscripts as symptomatic of a repositioning of Josephus as a writer

75 Teresa Webber, "Reading in the Refectory at Reading Abbey" *Reading Medieval Studies* 42 (2016): 71–72, 85 n.48, n.51.

76 Liebl, *Die illustrierten Flavius-Josephus-Handschriften des Hochmittelalters*, 42–45.

77 This portrait is in the initial C of the prologue of a Latin War, fol. 103v. Heinz Schreckenberg and Kurt Schubert, *Jewish Historiography and Iconography in Early and Medieval Christianity* (Assen/Maastricht: 1992), 90, 110; C.R. Dodwell, *The Canterbury School of Illumination, 1066–1200,* (Cambridge: 1954), 22. See C. M. Kauffman, *Romanesque Manuscripts, 1066–1190* (London: 1975), 80 (#43) and plate 116.

78 The Saint Albans Psalter is now Hildesheim, Dom Bibliothek MS St. Godehard 1. For a discussion of the relationship between the Saint Albans Psalter and the St. Albans Josephus manuscript, see Otto Pächt, C.R. Dodwell, and Francis Wormald, *The Saint Albans Psalter* (London, Warburg Institute, University of London: 1960), 156–157, 166–168, 280; and Kristine E. Haney, "The St Albans Psalter: A Reconsideration," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld* 58 (1995): 1–28, esp. pp.8–10.

79 On the Trinity Hall manuscripts see Kauffmann, *Romanesque Manuscripts*, pl. 92 (no. 63) and Liebl, *Die illustrierten Flavius-Josephus-Handschriften des Hochmittelalters*, 181–183 (no. 6).

with patristic authority.[80] Ker viewed Josephus' historical works as important components of core texts in the building of book collections after the Conquest. In his broad survey of the production of manuscripts in the period after the Norman Conquest, Ker lists the works of Josephus among those texts whose transmission conforms to a specific and recurring pattern of book copying in late 11th- and early 12th-century England.[81] On the basis of their format, size, and design, Neil Ker suggested the works of Josephus be seen as closely associated with a standard format for a set of standard works, largely patristic, that would be used for biblical commentary in the immediate post-Conquest period and in the period of manuscript acquisition in the century afterward.[82] Ulrike Liebl asserted that the "analog" to these large-format, illustrated Josephus manuscripts are patristic works and contemporary commentary.[83]

In contrast, the English manuscripts of *De excidio* are almost uniformly of smaller size, less organized, and more sparsely decorated. The largest surviving *De excidio,* now CUL MS Dd.9.4, English but without a more specific provenance, measures 350mm × 235mm. The smallest, now Edinburgh, National Library of Scotland, Advocates MS 18.3.9, produced between 1100 and 1140, is 190mm × 273mm and single-columned.[84] The height of the average English *De excidio* manuscript hovers around 300mm. Some of these are fine manuscripts, though none could be described as deluxe. Unlike Josephus manuscripts produced in the same period, *De excidio* manuscripts lack uniformity, for example in decorative and organizational elements. BL Harley 59, a relatively small manuscript dating from the second or third quarter of the 12th century, is filled, somewhat inconsistently, with pen-flourished initials of various sizes. Two large initials stand at the head of the prologue and Book One (fol. 2r) and the beginning of Book Two (fol. 26r). Another large initial begins the word "*Extinctus*" (fol. 46r) in the middle of Josephus' speech at Jotapata (*War* 3.17.1).[85] Smaller pen-flourished initials, and simple colored initials in red, green, and gray-blue stand at the beginnings of sentences or paragraphs

80 See Pollard's essay in this volume for a discussion of Josephus as a Church father in the Carolingian period.

81 N.R. Ker, *English Manuscripts in the Century after the Norman Conquest*, 40–41; R.M. Thomson describes two stages of the copying of manuscripts in post-Conquest England in "The Norman Conquest in English Libraries," 27–40.

82 Ker, *English Manuscripts in the Century after the Norman Conquest*, 40–41.

83 Liebl, *Die illustrierten Flavius-Josephus-Handschriften des Hochmittelalters*, 46–52.

84 Gameson, *MSS of Early Anglo Norman England,* 87, #286. Gameson dates the manuscript to Rochester in the first quarter of the 12th century. He notes the excision of decorative elements.

85 On this see Bay, *Biblical Heroes and Classical Culture*, 75–76.

from fol. 33 on and are sprinkled throughout the manuscript, though a number of pages are unembellished. Oxford, Jesus College 63, copied at Cirencester between 1147 and 1176, is also decorated with both fine and plainer initials.[86] Books Two through Five in Oxford, Bodl. 697 begin with an illuminated capital, which was presumably true of the opening of the text as well, but the first leaf is missing.[87] According to M.R. James' unpublished description of Cambridge, University Library, MS Dd.9.4, a 12th-century manuscript of unknown provenance, Books Two, Four, and Five "have plain but fine initials." The Rochester manuscript, from which initials were excised, was minimally decorated.

Perhaps a parallel to the earliest phase of acquisition of Josephus and *De excidio* manuscripts in England (as well as an influence) can be found in the dioceses of Liège and Reims, where Diane Reilly noted large-format, deluxe manuscripts of the works of numerous patristic authors as well as the works of Josephus began to be produced in the 11th and 12th centuries.[88] Reilly places the creation of the newly formatted Josephus manuscripts in the larger context of the production of large-format lectern Bibles and patristic commentary, and relates it to institutional changes related to church reform, new forms of patronage, and the expanded practice of communal reading. Reilly concludes that, literally by design, the status of Josephus became quasi-biblical and quasi-patristic biblical commentary.[89]

Reilly also compares manuscripts of the works of Josephus with those of *De excidio* produced in the same geographical areas in the same period. Reilly notes that manuscripts of *De excidio*, which are annotated and were clearly used and read, were produced concurrently with Josephus manuscripts but these texts are significantly smaller and decorated on a far less lavish scale than Josephus manuscripts, as is also the case in England.[90] In their essay, "Codicology" in *The European Book in the Twelfth Century*, Erik Kwakkel and

86 J.J.G. Alexander and Elżbieta Temple, *Illuminated Manuscripts in Oxford College Libraries, the University Archives, and the Taylor Institution* (Oxford, 1985), 8.

87 Richard W. Hunt, *A Summary Catalogue of Western manuscripts in the Bodleian Library at Oxford* (Oxford: 1895–1953) vol. 2, Part 1, 407–08.

88 Diane Reilly "Reims, Liège and Reform in the Central Middle Ages: Flavius Josephus as a Father of the Church," *in Medieval Liège at the Crossroads of Europe: Monastic Society and Culture, 1000–1300*, eds. Steven Vanderputten, Tjamke Snijders, and Jay Diehl, Medieval Church Studies 37 (Turnhout: 2017), 109–150. One of these copies of Josephus, now Oxford, Merton College MS 317, was brought to England in the early 14th century by a scholar of Paris, Nigel de Waverly: W. Cahn, "An Illustrated Josephus from the Meuse Region in Merton College, Oxford," 295–310.

89 Ibid, 112–114.

90 Reilly, "Reims, Liège and Reform in the Central Middle Ages," 125–145.

Rodney Thomson offer averages computed from datable books for manuscripts of different genres. Most of the extant Josephus manuscripts in England are comparable in height to both Bibles and biblical commentary, whereas the dimensions of *De excidio* manuscripts places them somewhere between the average heights of patristic commentary and historical works.[91] The difference in dimensions as well as decorative elements suggests a difference in the hierarchy of these works, and the conscious decision to expend resources on Josephus manuscripts.

3 Signs of Use: Annotations and Borrowings

Manuscripts of *De excidio* and the Latin Josephus historical works were obviously read and many of their readers left evidence of their particular interests on their pages. In manuscripts of all three works, marginal comments include finding aids, names, summations, reports of events of import, dates of reigns and deaths, corrections, chronological information, including notes on the duration of time between specific events, onomastic or etymological information, and corrections. In Josephan manuscripts that include the *Antiquities* the bulk of annotations, longer bits of commentary, and illustrations, tend to deal with material from the Old Testament and Genesis in particular.[92] However, Josephus devoted roughly the last third of his "universal history" of the Jews, to explaining the background of the war with Rome. These portions of the *Antiquities* and the entire *War* are generally more densely annotated than portions of *Antiquities* referring to the Old Testament.

Manuscripts of *War* and *De excidio* both show their readers common interests in specific features of these texts. Marginal annotations in Josephus and *De excidio* on the geography and history of the Holy Land are frequent in both works. Annotations are also more thickly clustered in sections of the manuscripts of the *War* and *De excidio* that treat the unheeded portents that warned of Jerusalem's impending destruction, an interest promoted by Eusebius' highlighting them in the *Historia Ecclesiastica.*[93] The author of *De excidio* placed

91 Erik Kwakkel and Rodney Thomson, "Codicology" in *The European Book in the Twelfth Century* (Cambridge: 2018), 13–14.

92 Liebl, *Die illustrierten Flavius-Josephus-Handschriften des Hochmittelalters,* 45, 140, 146. And see, for the same phenomenon in the early Middle Ages: Aubé-Pronce and Pollard, "Annotating Flavius Josephus in the Early Middle Ages," 180, 188–189.

93 Book Two of John of Salisbury's *Policraticus* deals with the nature of omens, oracles, and signs. In chapters 4–10 John of Salisbury cites Josephus as his source for the events of the destruction of Jerusalem, though his quotations seem to be taken largely from the Rufinian

more emphasis on these omens, and, as Bonnie Millar points out, stressed their Christian content and context.[94] Millar considers the account of Jesus, son of Anianus (*De excidio* 5.44) The account is embedded in reports of omens of impending war, and the destruction of the Temple and city that the author of *De excidio* remarks were foretold in the Jews own teachings before the crucifixion.[95] Jesus, the son of Anianus begins bellowing prophecy about the end of the temple and city four years before the beginning of the war, and continued for seven years, despite torments and beatings, until he himself was killed. These sections are well-marked in manuscripts. BL Harley 59 and BL Harley 1334, both late 12th-century manuscripts, are extremely well-annotated and indications of sections of the text dealing with events or themes of great interest were incorporated into their layout and design. In BL Harley 59, this section of the fifth book of *De excidio*, the story of Jesus, son of Anianus, starts a separate paragraph that opens with a large decorated "J."[96] The passages are further denoted by readers using combinations of long vertical lines in the margins, and half circles enclosing the beginning of lines, as well as annotations and commentary. Readers of Harley 1334 noted these passages in the same way, but the producer of the text signals the beginning of the Jesus story differently from Harley 59, with a small colored "J."[97] The visible interaction between reader and scribe/artist reinforces the prominence of the role of signs in the destruction of Jerusalem narrative.

Perhaps the most consistently annotated portions of these manuscripts are the speeches made by major characters in the narrative. These occur in Josephus as well but were greatly elaborated in *De excidio*.[98] Quotes from and allusions to speeches in *De excidio* were assimilated into the works of English historians. This kind of interest in the text of *De excidio* is clearly a legacy of the earlier Middle Ages. Justin Lake, in his essay in this volume, notes an emerging appreciation in the tenth century for the *De excidio* as a stylistic model. This

translation of Eusebius' *Ecclesiastical History*. John of Salisbury, *Frivolities of courtiers and footprints of philosophers, being a translation of the first, second, and third books and selections from the seventh and eighth books of the Policraticus of John of Salisbury*, trans. Joseph B. Pike (Minneapolis/London: 1938), 60–71.

94 Bonnie Millar, "The Role of Prophecy in the Siege of Jerusalem and its Analogues," *The Yearbook of Langland Studies* (1999): 153–178.

95 Ussani, 391–395.

96 BL Harley fol. 70r.

97 Harley 59, fol. 87v.

98 See Richard Pollard and Jean Félix Aubé Pronce, "Annotating Flavius Josephus in the Early Middle Ages: Early Impressions from Thousands of Notes" on annotations and speeches in *De Excidio:* 185–188.

shift, to some extent already observed in the works of Frechulf, Lake locates in the adoption by northern French historians of "speeches and descriptive passages" from *De excidio* and suggests that the text was used in schools in the teaching of rhetoric.[99]

De excidio's author's use of a wide range of classical authors, including Cicero, Seneca, Ovid, Virgil, and especially Sallust, had an obvious appeal for 12th-century humanists.[100] Its classical references and its own polished rhetoric made *De excidio* a model for historiographical rhetoric in the 12th century as it had been in the early Middle Ages.[101] *De excidio* served as a classical source, was used to construct exempla, to display erudition, to moralize, to educate, and entertain and to highlight historical parallels or typological connections between events across time.[102]

Neil Wright traced allusions to or borrowings from *De excidio* in four early 12th-century English historians, William of Malmesbury, Alfred of Beverly, Geoffrey of Monmouth, and Henry of Huntingdon.[103] Wright's examination demonstrates that a large number of parallels and allusions from *De excidio* are drawn from speeches in the work, although William of Malmesbury's borrowings from *De excidio* are more extensive than those of his compatriots.

Geoffrey of Monmouth's popular *History of the Kings of Britain* was completed sometime between 1123 and 1139.[104] The dates, related by Neil Wright in his introduction to the work, are bookended by the consecration in 1123 of Alexander, bishop of Lincoln, to whom Geoffrey dedicated *The Prophecies of Merlin*, and the point in time when the work was brought to Henry of Huntingdon's attention by Robert of Torigni at Bec, where Henry stopped on his way to Rome.[105] In the prologue to his history Geoffrey states his intention

99 See Lake in this volume.

100 Carson Bay, "Pseudo-Hegesippus and the Beginning of Christian historiography in Late Antiquity," *Studia Patristica* CXXVI (2021): 259–260; On parallels in Sallust and De Excidio in language and structure, see Justin A. Stover and George Woudhuysen, "Historiarum Libri Quinque: Hegesippus Between Josephus and Sallust."

101 See Lake in this volume; Carson Bay, "Pseudo-Hegesippus and the Beginning of Christian historiography in Late Antiquity", 259–260; Matthew Kempshall, *Rhetoric and the Writing of History* (Manchester: 2011), 34–52. In his discussion, Kempshall includes *De excidio* as a Latin Josephan text (49).

102 Staunton, *The Historians of Angevin England,* 5–6.

103 Neil Wright, "Anglo-Norman Historians and Hegesippus" *Anglo-Norman Studies XXXI,* Proceedings of the Battle Conference (2008): 175–195.

104 Geoffrey of Monmouth, *The History of the Kings of Britain. An Edition and Translation of De Gestis Britonum*, ed. Michae D. Reeve and trans. Neil Wright (Woodbridge: 2007), vii.

105 Henry, Archdeacon of Huntingdon, *Historia Anglorum* (*History of the English People*), ed. and trans. Diana Greenway (Oxford: 1996), liv.

to expand the known history of Britain beyond what could be found in Gildas and Bede. He claims his main source to be a very old book ("librum vetustissimum") written in the language of the Britons offered to him by a certain Walter, archdeacon of Oxford.[106] The first book recounts the founding of Rome by a remnant of the Trojan army, and, after many travails, their arrival on the shores of Britain. This historical background sets the stage for the conflict between Julius Caesar and King Cassibellaunus at the opening of the fourth book. Here, Geoffrey of Monmouth draws on Hegesippus' version of King Agrippa's speech in Book Two of *De excidio*, in which Agrippa urges moderation and caution to the Jews who are provoking war with Rome. Agrippa's speech includes a long list of those who have been conquered by Rome. He compares the Romans to Alexander the Great, whose conquests ended at the sea, whereas the example of the Roman conquest of Britain shows that not even Britain's obscurity, geographical distance, and the dangers of the ocean curtailed Roman invasion and the enslavement of its population who were accustomed to liberty.[107] Geoffrey uses select words and the general theme of the speech at the opening of his fourth book inserting them into both sides of a fictional correspondence between Julius Caesar and King Cassibellaunus of the Britains before the Roman conquest of Britain.[108] Cassibellaunus' words emphasize the literal lengths to which Romans will go in order to subjugate nations and force them to pay tribute to Rome. This exchange of literary hostilities introduces a section describing battles between Romans and Britains and much factional fighting. Geoffrey's adaptation of Agrippa's speech condemns the Roman invasion and Rome's covetousness, while at the same time underlining the "common ancestry" through Aeneas of both peoples. Wright points out that, in the context of *De excidio*, Agrippa's mention of the Roman conquest of Britain reveals a "pro-Roman bias" that Geoffrey reverses by having Cassibellaunus attribute Rome's desire for the conquest of Britain to their voracity rather than their valor and their freedom not to their geographical

106 Geoffrey of Monmouth, *The History of the Kings of Britain. An Edition and Translation of De Gestis Britonum*, 4–5.

107 Ussani, 11.9.1, 150: "magna virtus in Alexandro: quid mirum tamen? Ille usque ad oceanum victoriam extendit, Romani ultra oceanum. Testis est Brittania extra orbem posita sed Romanorum virtute in orbem redacta. Quos aetas ignoravit superior didicit Romanorum victoria. Servient et ipsi qui quid esset servitus ignorabant soli sibi nati et semper sibi esset servitus ignorabant soli sibi nati et semper sibi liberi, qui a superiorum potential interfuso oceano secreti etuere non poterant quos nesciebant."

108 Wright, "Anglo-Norman Historians and Hegesippus," 180–181; Geoffrey of Monmouth, *The History of the Kings of Britain. An Edition and Translation of De Gestis Britonum*,68–80.

location, but to their tradition of liberty.[109] At the same time, Geoffrey's decision to locate a passage in a Late Antique work that was relevant to the history of ancient Britain and transpose it into a correspondence marked by belligerence reinforces the credibility of his account and increases the tension, making for far more entertaining reading.[110]

Geoffrey's *History* is noted in the opening of the *History by Alfred of Beverly* sacristan of the Church of St. John of Beverly in Yorkshire.[111] The editor of the modern edition of the *History of Alfred of Beverly* dates its composition, on the basis of internal evidence, between 1148 and 1151.[112] Alfred outlines his project as one in which he will compile extracts of passages from Geoffrey's work and compare them with older histories, although he mentions only Bede. His work will cover the history of Britain from the time it was first occupied to the Normans. His work will unify information that is dispersed in many works. With no more introduction than that, he inserts the passage mentioning Britain from Agrippa's speech in *De excidio* in full. It is difficult not to see this as a corrective to Geoffrey's work about which Alfred obviously had some ambivalence.[113]

Speeches derived from Hegesippus are also used as models that offer typological connections between ancient and contemporary history. For example, Henry of Huntingdon in his *Historia Anglorum* uses Titus' elaborated speech in the second version of his *Historia Anglorum,* placed in the mouth of the Bishop of the Orkneys before the Anglo-Normans' 1138 battle against the Scots. The transfer of the speech invites comparison between the impetuous, imprudent, sinning Jews of Jerusalem to the Scots, with the Anglo-Normans in the role of Romans. Henry opens this section by describing the brutal acts of the Scots after invading England against women and children and against the Church and its symbols. The scene as described by Huntingdon could just as well be drawn from the siege of Jerusalem. The Scots' acts, which Henry says are ordered by their King, David, are repeated in the bishop's speech.[114] The

109 Wright, "Anglo-Norman Historians and Hegesippus," 182.

110 Kempshall, *Rhetoric and the Writing of History,* 350–357.

111 John Slavin, the editor of the modern edition of the *History*, notes that its designation as the *Annales* of Alfred of Beverly owes that title to the editor of its early 18th-century edition: *The History of Alfred of Beverley*, ed. J.P.T. Slevin and trans. L. Lockyer (Woodbridge: 2023), vii.

112 *The History of Alfred of Beverley*, vii, xxvii–xxxi.

113 Ibid, xxxvi–xxxvii, 2–4.

114 Wright, "Anglo-Norman Historians and Hegesippus," 182–184; Henry of Huntingdon, *Historia Anglorum*, 710–717.

victory of the English is presented as a parallel of Roman divinely ordained victory over Jerusalem.

Henry uses *De excidio* elsewhere, most notably in his eulogy of Henry I in Huntingdon's final revision, which is reminiscent of the brief critical biography of Herod after his death at the opening of the second book of *De excidio*.[115] For both Neil Wright and George Garnett, Henry's use of Hegesippus brings up the question of audience.[116] Wright sees Henry catering to the "alert reader" who would recognize the criticism of Henry I in a comparison to Herod drawn from Hegesippus.[117] Garnett suggests that in the century after the Conquest, English audiences might find a poignant appeal in comparisons between the biblical tyrant Herod and the Angevin Henry I of England, but suspects that Henry, like William of Malmesbury, were disposed to revel in their own "literary virtuosity."[118]

William's allusions and borrowings from Hegesippus, who he cites as Josephus, are far more wide-ranging than the other three historians noted here. Like Henry of Huntingdon, he draws on *De excidio* for exempla of bad kings and kingship. For example, in *Gesta Regum Anglorum,* William draws an implicit comparison between John Hyrcanus, the high priest, bribing King Antiochus to cease besieging Jerusalem with King Aethelred's attempting to forestall an invasion of the Danes by paying them off. Neil Wright shows that this passage works in a variety of ways when placed in the larger context of Aethelred's conflict with Dunstan, to link Aethelred to both Hyrcanus and Antiochus.[119] The comparison plays off of a convoluted version of the 'vengeance theme' that is associated with the *De excidio*. Another example is William's comparison of the corrupt king of Britain, Vortigern, with Emperor Vitellius.[120]

Then again, William might show off his virtuosity as well as that of his sources by interweaving phrasing from classical and late antique works, like Hegesippus, into his own prose. William of Malmesbury claimed to be stunned into (very brief) silence by the elegance of *De excidio*'s prose, to the

115 Wright, "Anglo-Norman Historians and Hegesippus," 186, Henry of Huntingdon, *Historia Anglorum*, 698–701.

116 George Garnet, *The Norman Conquest in English History: Volume One: A Broken Chain?* (Oxford: 2020), 17. Wright, "Anglo-Norman Historians and Hegesippus," 187–8.

117 Wright, "Anglo-Norman Historians and Hegesippus," 187.

118 George Garnett, *The Norman Conquest in English History*, 17.

119 Wright, "Anglo-Norman Historians and Hegesippus," 175–195: 189–90.

120 *Gesta Regum*, vol. 2, 18–19, vol. 1, 20–21. On Aethelred and Vortigern as models of immoral kings, see Sigbjørn Olssen Sønnesyn, *William of Malmesbury and the Ethics of History* (Woodbridge: 2012), 171–180.

detriment of its content. In the fourth book of his *Gesta Regum*, William writes, in a descriptive passage regarding his omission of some geographical detail related to the Norman advances during the First Crusade: "when they came to Antioch in Syria, I would have described its situation if my eagerness had not been hindered by the richness of Ambrose's prose in his Egesippus."[121] William continues, using *De excidio*, to describe the background and environment of Antioch.[122] William begins his crusade digression (which itself contains many digressions), by noting that he will give an account of the "iter Ierosolimitanum" by putting into his own words the speech and observations of those who were present, supplementing, as the occasion arises, with portions of works from ancient authors on the wealth of Constantinople, Antioch, and Jerusalem. He identifies himself as a conduit for the works of ancient authors whose words inform and entertain.[123] William then considered Hegesippus among those classical authors whose purpose was both to educate readers and animate his narrative. In this instance, Willliam's use of Hegesippus also demonstrates the relevance of texts that describe the 70 A.D. destruction to the Crusades.[124] William's ancient authorities help both to mark the reality of the historical past, its location in time and space, and to show the real past has specific, typological connections to the present, connections that follow specific lines of causality and judgement. These four historians are representative of English historians of the early 12th century in that all but William, a Benedictine monk, are secular clerics and that they all seem to have enjoyed the patronage of the ecclesiastical and secular elite. They were not a network of historians, but historians of similar interests who interacted or were in

121 William reference to a translation by Ambrose implies he considers *De Excidio* a translation of Josephus' *War*. William of Malmesbury, *Gesta Regum Anglorum,* vol. 1 630–631 (Book IV, 358,1): "quando Antiochiam Syriae venere: cujus situm commemorarem, nisi aviditatem meam praeoccuparet Ambrosiana in Egesippo facundia." William's modern editors identified many borrowings from *De Excidio*. A list of these for *Gesta Regum Anglorum*, vol. 2, 458. See also William of Malmesbury and the crusades in Susan Edgington's essay in this volume.

122 William of Malmesbury, *Gesta Regum Anglorum,* vol. 2, 317.

123 William of Malmesbury, *Gesta Regum Anglorum*, vol. 1, 592–3: "Nunc iter Ierosolimitanum scripto expediam, aliorum visa et sensa meis verbis allegans. Proinde, sicut se occasio ingesserit, de situ et divitiis Constantinopoleos, Antiochiae, Ierusalem ex scriptis maiorum deflorate subtexam, ut qui ea ignorat et haec forte invenerit, in prompt habeat quae aliis cognoscenda ipse proponat. Sed ad haec enharranda ferventiore opus est spiritu, ut cnsummem efficaciter quod incipio tam hilariter."

124 Wright, "Anglo-Norman Historians and Hegesippus." And see Julian Yolles in this volume on typological connections between crusading and the 70 A.D. destruction of Jerusalem.

dialogue with one another's work and one another's sources to some extent.[125] They also shared an interest in composing or assembling comprehensive histories of early Britain that trace the formation and the national identity of the contemporary multicultural kingdom across centuries of invasion and settlement, unity, and disorder. Geoffrey and Alfred begin their accounts with the distant past. The first book of Geoffrey of Monmouth locates the roots of the earliest denizens of the island to the Trojans. The fourth book treats the first violent encounter between Romans and Britons. Alfred of Beverly begins his *History* with a rhetorical nod and a corrective to Geoffrey's dramatization of a portion of Agrippa's speech from *De excidio*. The central theme of Henry of Huntingdon's *Historia Anglorum* is the "five plagues" the invasions or movements within England of the Romans, Picts and Scots, Angles, Danes, and Normans.[126] William of Malmesbury's *Gesta Regum*, written and revised from the 1120s to 1135, touches on the history of Britain briefly but the chief focus of its opening book is the arrival of Angles, Saxons, and Jutes, and ending in Angevin England. There is much scope, considering their subject matter, to insert set piece speeches related to battles.

George Garnett suggests that one historiographical consequence of the Conquest was an interest in filling out the history of Britain's ancient past. The 'rediscovery' of Bede as a historian was a further spur to document Britain's past, whose continuity, William of Malmesbury famously said, had been broken and disappeared completely with the death of Bede.[127] These allusions to *De excidio* by historians of 12th-century England illustrate not only the approval of *De excidio* as stylistic source, but also a continuum with early medieval uses of the text as well as a unique way of bridging the English past and the Roman past.

4 Conclusion

In form and function, *De excidio* entered the long 12th century as a work already distinct from the Latin Josephus in many ways. The character of the English Josephan manuscripts themselves, their format and the evidence of annotations, link the acquisition of these works not only to the patristic pattern of the use of Josephus, but also to these texts' significance to contemporary

125 Antonia Gransden, *Historical Writing in England* (Ithaca, NY: 1974), 186–188; Deborah Mauskopf Deliyannis, "Introduction" in *Historiography in the Middle Ages* (Leiden: 2003), 1.

126 Nancy Partner, *Serious Entertainments* (Chicago: 1977), 22–26.

127 William of Malmesbury, *Gesta Regum*, vol. 1, 14–17; Garnett, *The Norman Conquest in English History*, 1–80.

exegetical culture and the elevation of the literal sense. They also reveal the priorities of the late 11th and early 12th century institutional level, bishops, abbots, and founders, on the continent as well as in England, in terms of how to expend resources. In the central Middle Ages, *De excidio* served a different purpose, though much of its material came from Josephan works. The sample of 12th-century Anglo-Norman historians discussed above do not seem to have included Josephus in their working libraries, with the exception of William of Malmesbury. They preferred works of sophisticated rhetorical style, with numerous classical and biblical references often encased in a Late Antique Christian source. Yet some of the connective tissue between the components of the Latin Josephus Tradition remained. To some extent, The Latin Josephus Tradition remained an assemblage of texts that operated in one another's orbits and defined one another's positions.

Appendix: Hegesippus Manuscripts and Anglo-Norman England

I have listed surviving manuscripts of *De excidio* from Anglo-Norman England as well as entries in booklists. This list is certainly not inclusive. The entries are uneven in part because a number of catalogs have surprisingly minimal entries for this work, which is indicative of the extent to which *De excidio* manuscripts have remained unstudied, not to say ignored. I have included later catalogues.

Extant English Manuscripts of De Excidio

1. *Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS 149* xii[i]
   fols. 135 + iii, 310mm x 175mm, single column, 38 lines per page
   Contents/Title: *Egesippus*[128]
   Provenance: England, Hexham? [129]
2. *Cambridge, University Library MS Dd.9.4 (491)* xii
   fols. 155, 350mm x 235 mm, double columns, 32 lines per page
   Contents/Title: *De Excidio urbis Hierosolymae*
   Provenance: English [130]
3. *Cambridge, University Library MS Kk.1.27 (1961)* xiii
   fols. 132, size?, double columns, 33 lines per page
   Contents/Title: *Sancti Egesippi Historia de Machabeis atque Judeis*
   Provenance: English[131]
4. *Edinburgh, Scotland, National Library of Scotland, Advocates MS 18.3.9* xii[1-2] (1100–1140)
   fols. 171 + ii, 190mm × 273mm mm, single column, single volume

128 Inc. prol. fol.1: "In hoc corpore continentur egisippi historie libri numero quinque cum dei adiutorio."

129 M.R. James *A Descriptive Catalogue of the manuscripts in the library of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge* (Cambridge: 1911), vol. 1, 337–338. James dated the manuscript to the 11th century. R. Gameson (*The Manuscripts of Early Norman England*, 61) suggested the first quarter of the 12th century on paleographic grounds. On fol. 1 of the manuscript is a partially erased identification of the book's provenance from the 13th century that James transcribed as: "Lib sci Andr' de … Jo le." James thought the reference to St Andrew could apply to Rochester, Hexham, or Wells. The *MLGB* gives Hexham as its provenance (p. 101). James noted the presence of three flyleaves from a highly decorated 12th-century Italian copy of the Digest. Leaves from the same volume are also part of the binding of a book given to Bury Abbey by Robert Grosseteste.

130 M.R. James, *Unpublished description by M.R. James of Cambridge, University Library, MS Dd.9.4 (pseudo-Hegesippus, Historia Iosephi de bello iudaico et excidio urbis Hierosolymitanae)* (2021): Online at: https://www.repository.cam.ac.uk/handle/1810/321073; *A Catalogue of the Manuscripts Preserved in the Library of the University of Cambridge,* ed. H.R. Luard, 1 (Cambridge: 2011), 371–372.

131 *A Catalogue of the Manuscripts Preserved in the Library of the University of Cambridge, ed.* H.R. Luard 3, 596–7. Note: fol. 42: "*Beatissimi Ambrosii Episcopi translatio ex Josepho*."

Contents: *Hegesippi de Bello Judaico et excidio urbis Hierosolymitanæ libri quinque*
Provenance: England, Rochester[132]

5. *Glasgow, Scotland, University Library, Hunterian Library, MS 20* (Shelfmark S.2.10) xii[3-4]
159 fols. (originally 162), 248mm x 171mm, written space between 190mm × 120mm and 178mm × 114mm, single column, 30–31 lines per page
Title/Contents: INcipiuNt quinque libRi hegesippi … natione iudei … de | excidio iudeorum editi *De Excidio Judaeorum Libri V. A S. Ambrosio Translati*
Provenance: England, Chichester Cathedral[133]

6. *London, British Library, Additional MS 10097* xii
Title/Contents: *Hegesippi de Bello Judaico et excidio urbis Hierosolymitanæ libri quinque*; Florus, *Epitome of the Roman History of Titus Livius*
Provenance: England

7. *London, BL Harley 59.* (*Egesippus s. xii. xlv. al. supp.*)[134]
fols 75 + 4 + 4, 280 × 185 mm, written space 205-120 mm
Title: *Historia Josephi de bello judaico et excidio urbis Hierosolymitanae*
Provenance: England, Waltham, Essex, *The Augustinian Abbey of Holy Cross* [135]

8. *London, British Library, Harley 1334* xii[3-4]
fols 1 + 92, 295 × 195 mm, written area 215 × 135 mm, double columns
Provenance: England
Content/Title: *De Excidio Judeorum* [136]

9. *London, British Library, Royal 13 C.x* s.xiii
fols. 235, double column
Title/Content: *WORKS* of Cassiodorus and Hegesippus, Chronological Summary: 1. *Historia Ecclesiastica Tripartita*, 2. Hegesippus, *De excidio Iudeorum*;

132 *MLGB,* 161; Mary P. Richards, *Texts and their Traditions in the Medieval Library of Rochester Cathedral Priory* (Philadelphia: 1988), 8–10.

133 John Young and P.H. Aitken, *A Catalogue of the Manuscripts in the Library of the Hunterian Museum in the University of Glasgow* (Glasgow: 1908), 20–21.

134 *A Catalogue of the Harleian Manuscripts in the British Museum*, 4 vols (London: Eyre and Strahan, 1808–12), 1 (1808), 15 (no. 59).

135 *The Libraries of the Augustinian Canons*, eds. Teresa Webber and A.G. Watson CBMLC 6, 428; *MLGB,* 193.

136 *A Catalogue of the Harleian Manuscripts in the British Museum*, 4 vols. (London: Eyre and Strahan, 1808–12), 1, no. 1334; C.E. Wright, *Fontes Harleiani: A Study of the Sources of the Harleian Collection of Manuscripts in the British Museum* (London: British Museum, 1972), 272.

in five books. Title: Incipiunt quinque libri Hegesippi, natione ludei, de excidio ludeorum editi, 3. Chronological summary, from Achialon, judge of the Hebrews, to the emperor Nero; based upon Jerome's version of Eusebius.[137]

10. *London, British Library, Royal 14 C.viii* s. xi ex
Fols.71, 324mm × 247mm, 47 lines to the page
Title/Contents: Hegesippus, *De excidio Iudeorum*: Title: *In hoc corpore continentur Egesippi historiae libri numero quinque cum Dei adiutorio sociorum, Edisburgensis decus et fics spesque perhennis*. At the end, after an interval, are six lines introductory to a copy of St. Gregory's *Moralia*, beginning "Hic ostendisti, pater optime, papa Gregori," fol. 71. [138]

11. *London, Lambeth Palace MS 173* xi–xii
fols. 232, 300 × 175mm, written area 218 × 155mm
Title/Contents: Egesippus (fols. 1–156) (See note for other contents) [139]
Provenance: LANTHONY, Gloucestershire, .*The Augustinian Priory of St Mary the Virgin and St John the Baptist* [140]

12. *London, Lambeth Palace Library MS 378* xii [i]
Historiae libri V de bello iudaico, books II, III – fols 122–164
325mm × 165mm, 3 volumes, Part III – 43 lines per page

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137 George F. Warner, Julius Gilson, *Catalogue of Western Manuscripts in the old Royal and King's collections. Volume II: Royal MSS. 12 A. I to 20 E. X and App. 1–89* (London: 1921), 106.

138 Ibid, 136. Lapidge identified it in the catalogue as possibly being in a French hand, but likely to be in Scotland or somewhere in Great Britain by the 12th century from the evidence of second item in manuscript encouraging study in 66 Latin Hexameters, Inc. "Quaedam, mi fili, tibi quamvis" in which the student is addressed: "fili, memorabile pignus amici, Lux et dux horum qui tecum sunt sociorum, Edisburgensis decus et fics spesque perhennis." Richard Gameson identified this manuscript as a late 11th-century English manuscript, provenance unknown, with an extent Arabesque initial. Gameson, *Early Anglo Norman*, 120, #555.

139 See Lapidge, *Anglo-Saxon Libraries*, 317 for Lambeth Palace 173; *Lambeth Palace Library and its Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts*, eds. David Ganz, Jane Roberts, and Richard Palmer (London: 2007), 48–50; Richard Gameson, *Manuscripts of Early Norman England*, dates this manuscript from the first quarter of the 12th century. It has both excised decorative elements and some extant embellished initials. 123, #588, and Plate 21; 300 x 175mm. written area 218 x 115mm.

140 Richard Gameson, *The Manuscripts of Early Norman England* (*c.1066–1130*), 123, #594, decorated initials; 2nd quarter of 12th century. Content list from Gameson: fols. 157–222: Ephraim the Syrian, *Vita S. Abrahae, James the Deacon* (*Eustochius*), Vita S. Pelagiae, *Vita S. Fursei, Visio Baronti, Visio Wettini, Visio Drihthelmi* (Bede *Historica ecclesiastica V,12*), *Visiones* (Bede, *Historia ecclesiastica*, V, 13–14), fols. 223–32: *Sermo in die omnium sanctorum*; M.R. James and Claude Jenkins, *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Manuscripts in the Library of Lambeth Palace*, v. I (Cambridge: 1932), 272–277; M.R. James, *The Manuscripts in the Library at Lambeth Palace* (Cambridge, 1900), 27.

Title/Contents: In duo libri Egisippi de victoriis romanorum (See Note for other contents)

Provenance: Lanthony Gloucestershire, *The Augustinian Priory of St Mary the Virgin and St John the Baptist*[141]

13. *Oxford, Bodleian Library MS 697* xii4 [142]

Fols. 179, 343mm × 241 mm, double columns

Provenance: England

Title/Contents: *Historie* Egesippi de excidio Judaeorum

Oxford, Jesus College MS. 63 xii (1147–1176)[143]

Fols 163 (iii + 158 + 11), 315mm × 215mm, written space 235mm × 67mm, 2 cols, 34 lines

Provenance: Cirencester, The Church of St. John Baptist

Title/Contents: Hegesippus, *De excidio Hierosolymitano*

14. *Winchester Cathedral 20 xii^{ii}*

Fols. 115, 289 × 207mm, written space: 200 × 136mm, 2 cols, 35 lines

Provenance: Winchester Cathedral, The Benedictine cathedral priory of St. Peter, St. Paul, and St. Swithun[144]

15. *Worcester Cathedral F.30*

Worcester, Worcestershire. The Benedictine cathedral priory of St. Mary the Virgin, F. 30

Fols. 119, 330 × 215 mm, written space 240-150mm

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141 Original content list: Primo. Alquinus de caritate, Item liber Basilii de doctrina christianorum, Item quidam sermones valde utiles, Item de ammonicione profectus anime, Item duo libri Egisippi de victoriis romanorum. Ambrose's Hexameron was added later, possibly in the 14th century. M.R. James and Claude Jenkins, *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Manuscripts in the Library of Lambeth Palace*, Part IV: 521–522; *Lambeth Palace Library and its Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts*, 76. Listed in *MLGB* as Alcuinus, etc. s. xii–xiii, 111.

142 Richard W. Hunt, *A Summary Catalogue of Western Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library at Oxford* II (Oxford: 1895–1953) vol. II, Part 1, 407–08.

143 One of several manuscripts produced during the abbacy of Andrew (1147–1176) by the professional scribe, Ralph Pulleham, who is named on fol. 3. Andrew Watson, *Catalogue of Dated and Datable Manuscripts c. 435–1600 in Oxford libraries* (Oxford: 1984), vol. 1, 133; J. J. G. Alexander and Elzbieta Temple, *Illuminated Manuscripts in Oxford College Libraries, the University Archives and the Taylor Institution*, 8; Alexander, "Scribes as Artists" in *Medieval Scribes, Manuscripts, and Libraries: Essays Presented to N.R. Ker*, eds. M.B Parkes and A.G. Watson (London: 1978), 104. Alexander describes the initials in this *De excidio* as "halfway between an arabesque and a fully painted initial." (104).

144 [179] Hegesippus. Acquired Sotheby's, 23 Mar. 1920 (via Quaritch), lot 31, £740, presented to Winchester Cathedral, 1948. Now Winchester Cathedral, MS 20. See Laura Cleaver, "Charles William Dyson Perrins as a Collector of Medieval and Renaissance

Provenance: Worcester Cathedral
Title/Contents Hegesippus, *De Bello Iudaico*, fols. 1–117, fols. 117v, 118v, 2 bulls of Hadrian IV. [145]

Medieval Book Lists

Augustinian Libraries
Lanthony, Gloucestershire, Priory of the BVM and St. John the Baptist
Mid-14th century catalogue (1335–60)
Title: Egesippus, *Magnum volumen*
(* Now, London, Lambeth Palace 173) [146]
Leicester, Leicestershire, Augustinian Abbey of the B.V.M. de Pratis
Late 15th-century catalogue [147]

Manuscripts c. 1900–1920," *Perspectives médiévales* 41 (2020), accessed online on 25 January 2020, URL: http://journals.openedition.org/peme/19776; Winchester 20 is listed by Cleaver in Part C in the appendix, "Other manuscripts." The *MLGB* lists the book as a Winchester manuscript on the basis of binding or leaves used in binding, p. 201.

145 R.M. Thomson and Michael Gullick, *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Medieval Manuscripts in Worcester Cathedral Library* (Rochester, NY: 2001), 20; Note: fols. 117v, 118 v, 2 bulls of Hadrian IV. See Reginald L. Poole, "Two Unpublished Letters of Hadrian IV (1155)," *The English Historical Review* v. 17/68 (Oct. 1902): 704–706.

146 *Libraries of the Augustinian Canons* 51, (A16.131); This later catalogue seems to categorize *De excidio* among ecclesiastical histories. The editors of this mid-14th-century catalogue note the arrangement according, first, to *armaria*, i.e., cupboards with various numbers of shelves (*gradus*) and to arrangements within these cupboards by subject, to some extent. The second *armaria* contains largely patristic works. This section of the catalogue includes all the works in Bay's Latin Josephus Tradition, including Eusebius, in a row. *The Libraries of the Augustinian Canons*, 36–7, 51–52.

147 The opening sections of this late 15th-century catalogue is prefaced by a "tabula" which classifies books in the list, beginning with bibles and followed by biblical commentary. This section is followed by a simple table of the authors represented. Here, Josephus is in a category described as "Historialia," that includes Freculf, Peter Comestor, and Eusebius among others. "Egesippus" is listed in the next section, under "Cronicalia," a list that begins with Orosius and includes Bede, Solinus, and "Trogus Pompeyus," as well as a number of medieval authors (112). There follows a section organized by author, that includes broader descriptions of the volumes under the heading of authors (e.g., Augustine). In this section, the works of Josephus are also classified as "Historialia." (A20.613a Historiale Iosephi de antiquitatibus in magno volumine, A20613b Iosephus de bello iudaico in eodem), 232. Hegesippus is again placed in the "Cronicalia" section. *The Libraries of the Augustinian Canons*, 112. (A20.630): "*Egesippus de exidio* (sic) *Iudeorum per se in asseribus cum albo coopertorio, 2°fo. Recepit ad quam*," 235 (A20.630), 370 (A201639).

A20.630 Egesippus de exidio [sic] Iudeorum per se in asseribus cum albo cooperto-rio, 2º fo. Receipt ad quam[148]

A20.1639 Egesippus de excidio iudeorum, 2º fo *recepit*

Benedictine Libraries

Abingdon, Berkshire, Abbey of B.V.M.

B2 – list of books acquired by Abbot Faricius – early 12th century

B2.7 Egesippum, et multa alia volumina ipsius doctoris

(Books acquired by Abbot Faricius 1100–1117)[149]

Bury St. Edmunds, Suffolk, Abbey of St. Edmund, King and Martyr

B13 – Late 12th-century catalogue

B13.11 Egesippus[150]

Canterbury, St. Augustine's Library

– 14th-century catalogue [151]

BA1.894 historia EGESIPPI

Glastonbury, Somerset, Abbey of B.V.M.

13th-century catalogue (1247–8) [152]

B39-187 Egisippus. (leg(ibilis).

B44.31 Quinque libri Egesippi historici

Ramsey, Huntingdoneshire. Abbey of B.V.M. and St. Benedict

mid-14th-century catalogue

B68.208 – Egisippus [153]

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148 Clearly the volume is not about the exodus (*exidio*) of the Jews, but rather about their *excidio* (destruction). The description continues by noting the volume is bound in white. Other books in this section are also described by the color of the cover.

149 *English Benedictine Libraries: The Shorter Catalogues,* 6 (B13.11). The editors of this volume of the CBMLC suggest that "Multa alia" refers to works of Jerome.

150 *English Benedictine Libraries: The Shorter Catalogues,* 54. B13.10 is Iosephus in .iiº volumine (54).

151 B.C. Barker-Benfield ed. *St. Augustine's Abbey, Canterbury* CBMLC 13 (London: 2008): BA1 is the catalogue of the library compiled between 1375 and 1420. The original does not survive but a transcription was made in the late 15th century. The original likely did not have shelfmarks and page and entry numbers associated with a register arrangement according to subject. The entry for *De excidio* is in the section of the catalogue reserved for histories. Entries 880–888 are authors referred to as *historiographus*.

152 *English Benedictine Libraries: The Shorter Catalogues*: 1247 inventory. The *De excidio* is in a section marked "Historie" that includes a very broad range of histories from ancient to relatively contemporary histories: Sallust, Orosius, Bede, Freculph, and the Gesta Normannorum bon(a), presumably a copy that includes extensions through the late 12th century. A second catalog, B43, books acquired by Abbot Walter de Moningten, does not include *De excidio.* However, Leland (B44 1536–1540) noted it: B44.31 Quinque libri Egesippi historici, probably the same book as the B39 entry.

153 *English Benedictine libraries: the shorter catalogues*, 372–373. Under books listed as "Libri hystoriarum": B68.201 Iosephus in duobus voluminibus, B68.208 Egisippus. This section

Reading, Berkshire Abbey of B.V.M.

late 12th-century catalogue

B71.83 Egesippus in uno volumine[154]

Rochester, Kent, Cathedral priory of St. Andrew

Catalog of the library 1122/3

Egesippus in .i. volumine (Now NLS MS Adv. 18.3.9 12th in.)

B77.53 Egesippus in .i. volumine[155]

Rochester catalogue 1202

B79.74 Egesippus in .i. volumine.Egesippus in .i. volumine [156]

The Libraries of the Cistercians, Gilbertines, and Premonstratensians

Meaux, Yorkshire E.R. Cisterican Abbey of B.V.M. 14th-century catalogue.

Egesippus[157]

Rievaulx, Yorkshire, Cist. Abbey of BVM – 13th-century copy of late 12th-century list

Z19.113 – Historia Egesippi in uno volumine[158]

Friars' Libraries

York, Austin Friars – 14th-century catalogue

A8. 172 Egesippus[159]

Syon Abbey 15th-century – Registrum of the library of the Brethren c. 1500–1524

SS1.857 N.3. N.3

Compilation manuscript: \\0.19//

a Octo libri Gregorii Nissseni. B item Gregorii Nazianzeni oratio. C Basilius de differentia usie et hypostasis d Item Antiquitatum variorum voluminal a Iohanne Annio declarata. E Ecclesiastice tripartitie hisrie libri 12 cim f. Egisippus de excidio Hierosolymitano. G Polybius de primo bello punico h. Leonardus Aretinus de temporibus suis. I Item Plutarchi parallelia.[160]

Henry of Kirkestede – Catalogus de Libris Autenticus et Apocrifis

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includes Eusebius, Acts, Peter Comestor, Tripartite history, Solinus, Justin, and Orosius, as well as some medieval histories.

154 *English Benedictine Libraries: The Shorter Catalogues*, 433 (B71.83): Egesippus in uno volumine, 432 (B71.82) is Iosephus in duobus voluminibus.

155 B77.90 is Iosephus in .ii. voluminibus (490).

156 *English Benedictine libraries: the shorter catalogues,* 506 (B79.74). B79.75 is Iosephus in two volumes.

157 Catalogue Z14 is an inventory of books belonging to the abbey from 1396. It has 8 sections including "pro magno altari, in choro," etc. i.e., books for service use. The Egesippus MS is in Theca 9 (Pagan authors and historical works). *The Libraries of the Cistercians, Gilbertines, and Premonstratensians*, David N. Bell, ed. CBMLC 3, 35–36, 74.

158 *The Libraries of the Cistercians, Gilbertines, and Premonstratensians*, 106 (Z19.113).

159 *The Friars' Libraries*, ed. K.W. Humphreys, CBMLC, vol. 1 (London: 1990).

160 *Syon Abbey: With the Libraries of the Carthusians,* ed. Vincent Gillespie CBMLC, vol. 9 (London: 2001), 260.

14th-century catalogue, Bury St. Edmunds[161]

K 2.27 – Egesippum ab eo translatum historiam[162]

K163 – Egesippus historiographus floruit circa A. Ch. 158 et scripsit juxta Vincentium lib. Xi cap. 112 [1] a passione Domini usque ad suam aetatem historias, multaque ad utilitatem credentium pertinentia composuit in libris quinque. [163]

1. Josephus, Historia de excidio Urbis Hierosolymitanae (see Bury) B13.11, Egesippus (203)
2. Item adversus ydola historiam I (taken from Diceto) (204)[164]
3. De excidio Urbis lib I (Higden)

Registrum Anglie

Canterbury Cathedral (Egesippus)[165]

Salisbury Cathedral (Egesippus)[166]

Woburn Cistercian Abbey of BVM (Egesippus)[167]

Exeter Cathedral (Egesippus ab Ambr. Translatus)[168]

Chester, the Benedictine Abbey of St. Werburg (Egesippus translatus)[169]

Guisburough, the Augustinian Priory of B.V.M. (Egesippus ab Ambr. Translatus)[170]

Durham Cathedral (Egesippus ab Ambrosio translatus)[171]

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161 Henry of Kirkestede, *Catalogus de Libris Autenticis et Apocrifis,* eds. Richard H. Rouse and Mary A. Rouse CBMLC vol. 11 (London: 2004). On Kirkestede's construction of his *Catalogus*, see xlii–lxiv. On compilation and the relationship to the *Registrum*, lxxxiv–lxxxvii.

162 In Ambrose section, Henry of Kirkstede, 84.

163 Obviously influenced by Jerome's *De viris*.

164 In his *Abbreviationes*, Ralph Diceto lists famous men and the coverage of their works, mostly histories. He mentions both Josephus and "Hegesippus," but his brief description obviously comes from Jerome.

165 *Registrum Anglie de libris doctorum et auctorum veterum,* 249.

166 Ibid, 265.

167 Ibid, 270.

168 Ibid, 285.

169 Ibid, 296.

170 Ibid, 310.

171 Ibid, 312.

CHAPTER 8

Editing or Censoring the Latin Text of Josephus? Evaluating the Deletions in BnF Lat. 12511

Anthony Ellis

This chapter[1] explores a series of puzzling deletions in a 12th- or 13th-century Latin manuscript of Josephus and contextualizes them in the long history of Christian tampering with Josephus' writings. It asks whether these deletions can usefully be viewed as a form of censorship and explores what they can tell us about the authority and reception of Josephus in the medieval world, particularly in the light of anti-Judaizing and anti-Talmudic currents of late medieval France.

The manuscript in question, BnF Lat. 12511 (henceforth **s**), contains part of the Latin text of Josephus' *Jewish Antiquities* and *Jewish War*. Held today in the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris, it seems to have arrived there from the Benedictine Abbey of Saint-Germain-des-Prés.[2] The manuscript's precise date and place of origin are unclear, but paleographical analysis suggests the late 12th or early 13th century and possibly the work of an English scribe.[3] The

1 For valuable feedback I am grateful to Carson Bay, Irene van Renswoude, audiences at the Oxford Centre for Hebrew and Jewish Studies in 2018 and at the Latin Josephus Workshop (Bochum, Sept. 2019). I am particularly indebted to Greti Dinkova-Bruun (PIMS) and Florian Mittenhuber (Burgerbibliothek Bern) for the discussion of paleographical details. Where not otherwise indicated, all translations are my own.

2 The contents are structured as follows: *Ant.* 1–12, *War* 1–6, *Ant.* 18–20, reflecting a common 'edition type' of the Latin Josephus in the Middle Ages, on which see Gerlinde Huber-Rebenich, "Lies den Josephus! – aber welchen? Zur handschriftlichen Überlieferung des Flavius Josephus im lateinischen Mittelalter" in *Kirchengeschichte: Historisches Spezialgebiet und / oder theologische Disziplin*, eds. Claudia Kampmann, Ulrich Volp, Martin Wallraff, and Julia Winnebeck (Leipzig: 2020), 119–142. Here and throughout, I use the sigla assigned by Franz Blatt in *The Latin Josephus*. The manuscript can be viewed online at https://gallica.bnf.fr.

3 At the top of fol. 1r an early modern hand has written "S(anc)ti Germani a Pratis." Blatt, *Latin Josephus,* 50, dates the manuscript to the 12th century; David Levenson and Thomas Martin, "The Place of the Early Printed Editions of Josephus's Antiquities and War (1470–1534) in the Latin Textual Tradition," in *Sibyls, Scriptures, and Scrolls: John Collins at Seventy*, eds. Joel Baden, Hindy Najman, and Eibert J. C. Tigchelaar (Leiden: 2017), vol. 2, 765–825, at 824, date it to the second half of the 12th century; Greti Dinkova-Bruun dated the hand of the main text to the late 12th or early 13th century, and suggested an English origin (personal communication).

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manuscript's importance to the reception of Josephus lies in what happened to it after its creation: a later reader went through the text and deleted a range of passages, from single words to several lines. Deletions are, in themselves, hard to date since most paleographical techniques focus on letter forms. Fortunately, the deleter[4] was conscientious enough to re-copy some essential words which occurred in the middle of the erased passages to ensure that the final result made sense. At *Ant.* 1.47–8 (Figure 8.1), for example, the subject of the sentence, "Adam" – which originally stood in the middle of the removed passage – was copied back into the text at the start of the lacuna created by the deletion. After this, the deleter drew a line through the space where the rest of the removed text had once stood.[5] Several such instances of recopying provide us with very limited samples of the deleter's hand – a mere five words in *Antiquities* Book 1. Such a small sample allows no firm dating, particularly if the scribe is imitating the style of the surrounding text and suppressing their own palaeographical traits, but it seems likely that the hand also dates to the early 13th century.[6] It does, at any rate, appear to be the work of someone

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The codex has received only a handful of other mentions: Guy Deutsch, *Iconographie de l'illustration de Flavius Josèphe au temps de Jean Fouquet* (Leiden: 1986), 36, discusses the illustration of *In principio*; Ulrike Liebl, *Die illustrierten Flavius-Josephus-Handschriften des Hochmittelalters*. (Frankfurt am Main: 1997), 245–6, gives a detailed description of the codex and illustration (though without mention of the deletions discussed here); Jean-Marie Fritz, "Translatio studii et deluge: La légende des colonnes de marbre et de brique," *Cahiers de civilisation médiévale* 47 (2004): 127–151, at 113 n.25, notes that s belongs to the family of manuscripts with transposition of Jubal from *Ant*. 1.64 to 1.69/70 (further below). For early marginalia and paratexts on the Latin Josephus, see Richard Matthew Pollard, "Reading Josephus at Vivarium? Annotations and exegesis in early copies of the Antiquities," *Florilegium* 30 (2013): 103–142.

4 I refer to the author of these deletions simply as 'the deleter' throughout, to avoid terms which are either too specific or too vague ('reader', 'expurgator', 'censor', etc.).

5 The fact that the recopied words do not have a line drawn through them indicates that they were inserted by the deleter, as does the fact that they are verbatim copies of the original text, and thus written with a knowledge of what had previously stood there. It is also clear that these deletions were *first* made in this manuscript. The alternative explanation would be that the deletions in BnF 12511 were made by comparison with another manuscript in which where these passages were missing, leading someone to delete them from BnF 12511. But the manuscript shows no other signs of careful comparison and correction against another exemplar of the sort one would expect if the 'deleter' of BnF 12511 was in fact a philological 'corrector' attempting to bring this manuscript in line with an older manuscript perceived to carry a superior text.

6 I am grateful to Florian Mittenhuber for offering a dating. The attribution to the early 13th century may be strengthened by another textual intervention on fol. 84v, where the lower outer corner of the folio has been cut away and the text presumably thereby removed from the bottom of the recto side (i.e., 84rb) has been recopied on the verso (84va, left blank by the original scribe, presumably due to the lacuna which corresponds to Niese sections 9.51–109). It is not clear

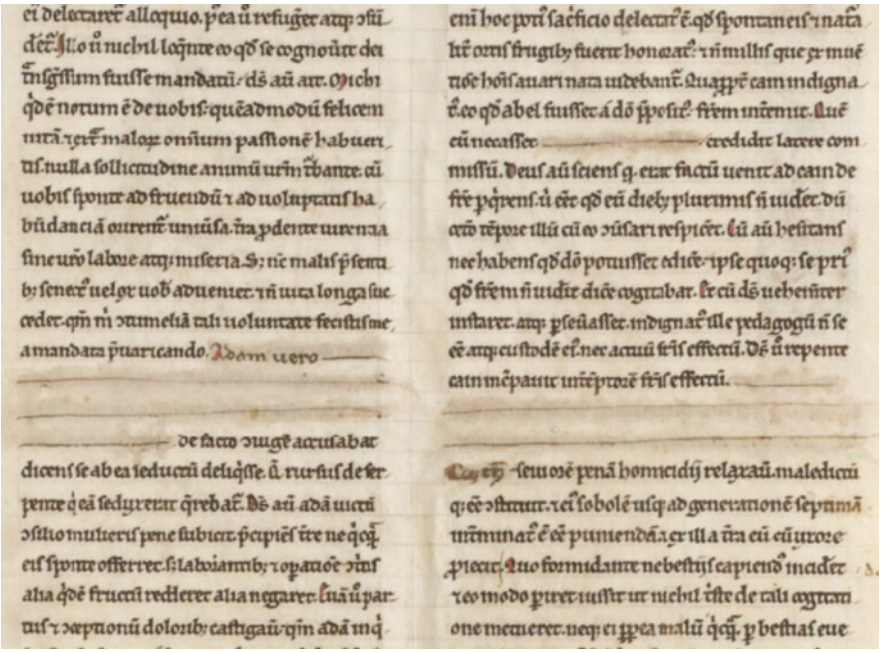

FIGURE 8.1 BnF Lat. 12511, fol. 1v: Deletions at Jos. *Ant.* 1.47–48, 1.55, 1.57–8. Photo courtesy of the Bibliothèque nationale de France.

with access to the tools of a scriptorium: the initials of the re-written words are rubricated in red ink to match the surrounding text. While the date is far from secure, it seems likely that the deletion took place within a century or so of the manuscript's creation, at some point in the high or late Middle Ages, probably in a monastic setting.[7]

In its 217 folios **s** contains some 46 deletions, all within the first 12 books of the *Antiquities*.[8] Since the deletions occur in particular density in book 1 of the

yet whether the replacement text on 84va represents a new composition or has been copied from another manuscript, but the hand has been dated to the late 12th or early 13th century (Greti Dinkova-Bruun), not long after the creation of the manuscript. The isolated words recopied by the 'deleter' are clearly different, but since the sample is so small and since it was probably recopied in an 'assimilated' script (borrowing letterforms from the original scribe), no conclusive judgements can be drawn. If, as seems possible, these interventions were all done by the same individual, then they would all have taken place in the early 13th century.

7 Note that there are no signs of marginal notes or *obeli* which sometimes mark text for deletion (see examples in Irene van Renswoude, "The Censor's Rod: Textual Criticism, Judgement, and Canon Formation in Late Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages," in *The Annotated Book in the Early Middle Ages: Practices of Reading and Writing*, eds. Mariken Teeuwen and Irene van Renswoude (Turnhout: 2017), 555–595, at 561).

8 The distribution is as follows: *Ant.* I: 13 (below), II: 6, III: 0, IV: 0; V: 1; VI: 3; VII: 13 (mostly correcting a single name); VIII: 3; IX: 4; X: 0; XI: 1; XII: 2; *War* I–VII: none; *Ant.* XVIII–XX: none.

Antiquities – corresponding to Genesis 1–35 – and since this section of Genesis contains some of the best-known narratives of the *Antiquities*, I focus below on the 13 deletions in this book and what they reveal about Josephus' authority as a scriptural exegete in late medieval France. Before discussing these in detail, I first publish the relevant passages in order of occurrence, with the deleted words struck through, and accompanied by a translation. Words subsequently re-written by the deleter are placed in pointed brackets. Since the deleted text is in most cases completely illegible, I have supplied it from a closely related manuscript, **Mz** (Paris, Bibliothèque Mazarine 1580),[9] copied in the 12th century and connected with the Abbey of St Victor.[10]

#1. *Ant.* 1.30: Ice around the heavens (**s**: 1ra [= Figure 8.2] / **Mz**: 2ra):
post hoc secunda die celum super omnia collocauit, eumque ab aliis distinguens. in semetipso constitutum esse praecepit, ~~et ei cristallum circumfingens~~ humidum<que> eum et pluuialem ad utilitatem quae fit ex imbribus terrae congrue fabricatus est.

After this, on the second day, [God] placed the heavens above everything, and dividing it from the other things, he ordered it to be placed by itself, ~~and placing ice around it~~, <and> he made it suitably humid and rainy for uses which the earth derives from rains.

#2. Ant. 1.47–8: God criticizes Adam's silence, Adam's plea for mercy (**s**: 1va [= Figure 8.1] / **Mz**: 3va):
… mea mandata praeuaricando. <Adam uero> ~~neque enim virtutis causa taciturnitate constringeris, sed mala conscientia retineris. Adam vero peccati ueniam postulabat, rogabatque deum ne eum nimis affligeret. et~~ de facto coniugem accusabat dicens se ab ea seductum deliquisse.

"by going against my commands. <But Adam> ~~For it is not from virtue that you confine yourself to silence, rather you restrain yourself out of~~

9 Blatt describes the origin of **Mz** as "unknown." Of the older manuscripts in Blatt's family ν (**Vct**, **s**, **Mz**, **cl**, **bd**), Agneta Sylwan, ed., *Comestor. Scolastica Historia: Liber Genesis*, CCCM191 (Turnhout: 2005), xxii–xxiii, examines the three Parisian manuscripts (**Mz**, **s**, **Vct**) of Genesis and notes their close similarity as well as **Mz**'s connection with St Victor.

10 I follow the text of **s** (where extant) in preference to Blatt's edition. Significant differences between **s**, Blatt's edition, and other manuscripts are noted in the footnotes. Here and throughout, Greek citations follow the text and apparatus in Benedikt Niese, *Flavii Iosephi opera*, 6 vols (Berlin: 1887–1894).

~~bad conscience." But Adam begged forgiveness for his crime and asked God not to afflict him excessively and he~~ accused his wife of the deed, saying that he had sinned after being led astray by her.

#3. Ant. 1.55: Cain hides Abel's body (**s**: 1^{vb} [= Figure 8.1] / **Mz**: 3^{vb}):
quapropter cain indignatus eo quod abel fuisset a deo praepositus. fratrem interemit. quem cum necasset[11] ~~et mortuum occultasset~~ credidit latere commissum. deus autem sciens quod erat factum uenit ad cain de fratre perquirens. ubi esset…

For which reason Cain, angry that Abel had been preferred by God, killed his brother. When he had killed him ~~and hidden the body~~, he thought that he had hidden the deed. But God, knowing what had been done, came to Cain enquiring about his brother and where he was…

#4. *Ant.* 1.57–8: God's sarcastic profession of amazement; Cain's sacrifice and plea that God should not get angry (**s**: 1^{vb} [= Figure 8.1] / **Mz**: 3^{vb}):
Deus uero repente cain increpauit interemptorem fratris effectum. ~~et ait. Admiror si de fratre nescis dicere quid factum sit, quem ipse peremisti. Cui tamen sacrifitium celebranti atque poscenti, ne ob hoc iram susciperet.~~ <Cui tamen> seuiorem penam homicidii relaxauit. maledictumque esse constituit et eius sobolem usque ad generationem septimam…
But God suddenly rebuked Cain, who had become the killer of his brother ~~and said: "I am amazed if you cannot say what has been done concerning your brother, whom you yourself have killed." However, when [Cain] had completed a sacrifice to [God] and begged him not to be angry with him for this~~, <For him, however> [God] relaxed the stricter punishment of homicide and determined that he and his progeny should be cursed to the seventh generation…

#5. *Ant.* 1.68: Josephus will try to avoid digressing on Seth's brothers (**s**: 2ra / **Mz**: 3ra):
fuerunt ergo ei et alii filii plurimi. inter quos etiam Seth.[12] ~~De~~[13] ~~aliis quidem longum est dicere· conabor autem de sech narrare tantummodo.~~

11 **Mz** (firsthand): *Quem cum ~~necess~~ necasset*.

12 The foregoing words (and previous line) appear to be corrected in **Mz** (3ra). In **s**, by contrast, they are in the main hand.

13 Blatt prints *Sed de aliis* and reports: "*sed* om. **S**."

is namque nutritus et perueniens ad etatem quae iam posset ea quae sunt bona discernere …

He therefore had many other sons, among whom was also Seth; ~~it would indeed take a long time to tell of the others; but I shall try to speak about Seth alone~~. For when he had been brought up and come to an age at which he could already distinguish what was good …

#6. *Ant*. 1.71: The inscribed stone pillar built by Seth's offspring survives today in Sirida (**s**: 2^{rb} / **Mz**: 3^{rb}):

…lapidea permanens praeberet hominibus cognoscere scripta[14] simul et quia lateralem aliam posuissent. ~~Quae tamen lapidea permanet hactenus in terra syrida~~.

…the stone [pillar] would survive and allow men to discover the text, also because they had set up another [pillar] of brick; ~~the stone [pillar] still remains up to today in the land of Syrida.~~

#7. *Ant.* 1.126: The name "Tygran" is altered to "Thogorma" (**s**: 3^{vb} / **Mz**: 4^{vb}):

~~Tygran~~ <Thogor^{ma}> uero thygraneos.[15] qui friges a grecis sunt nuncupati.

~~Tygran~~ <Thogorma> or Thygraneos, who were known to the Greeks as the Phryges.

#8. *Ant*. 1.229–30: Abraham's speech to Isaac before the sacrifice (**s**: 6^{vb} / **Mz**: 7^{vb}):

deo namque te cedo, qui hunc honorem a nobis dignatur accipere. ~~eo quod placatus[16] michi fuit et per omnia suffragator. Natus ergo morere non communi modo hanc vitam egrediens· sed a patre proprio oblatus deo patri cunctorum ob legittimum sacrifitium~~, Reor enim quia te dignum iudicaverit.

For I cede you to God, who deems it fitting to receive this honour from us, ~~because he was mild towards me and my supporter in all things. Thus, born to die, leaving this life not in the normal way, but rather sacrificed by your own father to God = Father of all things = in place of a normal sacrifice~~, since I think that he considered you worthy.

14 **Mz** and Blatt have *scripta cognoscere* (Blatt cites no other variants).

15 **Mz**: *Tygraneos.*

16 Blatt reports: "*placidus* **L C Sc** *placitus* **S**"

#9. *Ant.* 1.231: The end of the same speech (**s**: 7ra / **Mz**: 7^{vb}):
Eritque[17] decetero curam mei habens. senectutemque regens. qua te gratia maxime nutriebam: ~~hec mihi deo scilicet pro te praebituro~~. Ysaac autem…

"… [Your soul] shall henceforth have care for me and rule my old age, for which purpose I chiefly raised you, ~~since God will doubtless offer me this in exchange for you.~~" But Isaac…

Compare here the Greek text:

ἔσῃ τ᾽ ἐμοὶ εἰς κηδεμόνα καὶ γηρωκόμον, διὸ καὶ σὲ μάλιστα ἀνετρεφόμην, τὸν θεὸν[18] ἀντὶ σαυτοῦ παρεσχημένος.

You shall be my guardian and a support for my old age, the very reason for which I raised you, by providing me with God instead of yourself.

#10. *Ant.* 1.236: A celebratory hug and kiss; returning home to Sarah (**s**: 7ra/ **Mz**: 8ra):
haec cum dixisset deus arietem ex improviso produxit[19] ad sacrificium. ~~illi vero praeter spem semetipsos amplectantes· quippe qui bonorum talium promissiones audirent, osculabantur.~~ altera uero die[20] sacrifico celebrato: reuersi sunt ~~ad Sarram.~~ feliciterque degebant cuncta quae uellent eis praebente deo.

When he had said these things, God unexpectedly brought them forth a ram for the sacrifice. ~~And, embracing each other beyond all hope because they heard promises of such good things, they kissed~~; on the next day, with the sacrifice celebrated, they returned ~~to Sarra~~ and lived happily, with God offering them everything they wished.

#11. *Ant.* 1.274: Isaac's mistaken blessing (**s**: 8^{rb}/ **Mz**: 9ra):

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17 Blatt suggests that *eritque* is a corruption of an original *erisque*, which would correspond more closely to the Greek, though the sense remains the same in each case: *eritque* simply takes Isaac's *anima* as the subject.

18 Niese reports that ms **L** reads τῶ θεῶ, while Eustathius reads τὸν θεόν μοι. It seems likely that the original translators also read τῷ θεῷ, given their choice of *deo … praebituro*; in any case, it is only with the ablative absolute that one can make sense of the reading *eritque* offered by the Latin manuscripts.

19 Blatt prints *produxit eis ad* (and cites no other variants); **Mz** and **s** omit *eis*.

20 **Mz** and **s**: *altera vero die*. Blatt reports: "*alterutros et* **L C Sc** *altera vero die* **S**."

~~Et ille quidem arbitratus pro esau se orationes efficere rogabat deum~~, mox ~~autem~~[21] ut cessauit a ueneratione affuit esau. Ysaac autem sentiens quod egerat quiescebat.

~~And he [Isaac] thinking that he was making prayers on behalf of Esau invoked God~~; soon, ~~however~~, after he had ceased his blessing Esau arrived. Isaac, however, perceiving what he had done, was silent.

#12. *Ant.* 1.323: Rachel hides the stolen images of the family gods in her saddle and claims she is on her period, so that Laban gives up the search (**s**: 9va/ **Mz**: 10va):

et laban quidem cessauit amplius perscrutari: ~~non credens filiam cum~~[22] ~~tali passione accedere posse ad ydola.~~ fecitque cum iacob fedus: in nullo eorum se memoriam quae gesta fuerant habiturus,[23] sed et ille dilecturum se filias eius.

And Laban indeed stopped searching further, ~~not believing that his daughter could approach the images in such a condition~~, and he made a pact with Jacob that he [Laban] would not bear in mind what had been done, and that he [Jacob] would love his [Laban's] daughters.

#13. Ant. 1.337: The rape of Dina (**s**: 10ra/ **Mz**: 11ra):

Sichemitis[24] autem festiuitatem habentibus dina, que fuit filia iacob sola, transiuit ad ciuitatem, ~~emptura ornamentum provintialium mulierum.~~ uidens autem eam sichem…

Since the Sichemites had a festival, Dina, who was Jacob's only daughter, went to the city ~~to buy the ornament~~[25] ~~of the provincial women~~. But when Sichem saw her…

#14. *Ant.* 1.343: The burial of Rachel (**s**: 10ra/ **Mz**: 11ra):

hinc enim[26] proficiscens: uenit in effrata. ubi rachel ex p<^{ar}>tu[27] mortuam sepeliuit. ~~Que sola inter cognatos in ebron honorem sepulture~~

21 Blatt prints *enim* (and cites no other variants).

22 Blatt prints *quia cum* and reports: "*quia* **L C Sc** *quod* **S**"

23 Blatt reports: "*habiturum* **L Sc S** *habiturus* **C**." **Mz** and **s** read *habiturus*.

24 **Mz**: Siccunitis. Blatt prints *Sicimitis* and reports no variants.

25 Cf. the Greek: τὸν κόσμον.

26 Blatt reports: "*hic* **L** *autem* **L C Sc** *enim* **S**." **Mz** and **s** read *hinc enim*.

27 The letters above the line are added in a later hand, which appears to be the same hand which made the deletions which follow. It looks as if the original scribe wrote *expertu*

habere non meruit.[28] Et cum ualde eam[29] fleuisset <et> filium ex ea natum beniamin appellauit.

And setting out from here [Jacob] came to Effrata, where he buried Rachel, who had died from childb<ir>th, who alone among their relatives did not deserve the honour of burial in Hebron; and when he had mourned her deeply, <and> the son born of her he called Benjamin.

A first striking point is that the deleted material shows no obvious thematic unity. In some cases, the deletion removes details which are absent from the Vulgate Bible: that Cain hid Abel's body (#3) or that he sacrificed to God and begged him not to become angry (#4). In other cases, the deletion has no bearing on narrative details but rather edits Josephus' narratorial voice. The Greek and Latin texts of Josephus say, for example, that after the death of Abel, Adam and Eve had many other children alongside Seth. The book of Genesis talks in detail only about Seth but observes in Adam's epitaph that he had "sons and daughters" (Gen 5:4).[30] Our deleter removes Josephus' statement that he will restrict his narrative to Seth alone (#5). Likewise, after the extended description of the (non-biblical) pillars of brick and marble erected by the descendants of Seth, the deleter removes only the statement that the stone pillar remained "up to this day" in the land of Syrida (#6).

The deleter appears to have wanted his work to result in a comprehensible artefact. His goal was not to deface the text or simply to remove what displeased him, rather he aimed to create a coherent and presumably improved text. At the most basic level, he restored any grammatically important elements which had been deleted: in #2, *Adam vero*, which stands in the middle of the deleted passage but is crucial for the sense, has been re-written at the start of the space created by the erasure. In #4 the indirect object and conjunction (*cui tamen*) have been recopied, though the ink has blurred due to being applied to the rough surface created by the erasure (Figure 8.1). Other interventions show signs of particular care. In #1 the deleter has added *-que* after

using the *per*-ligature; the corrector has partially erased this at the same time as erasing the following lines, leaving a simple *p*, above which he inserted the letters *ar*. **Mz** simply reads *ex partu* in first hand.

28 The negative implication that Rachel had not *deserved* the honor of burial in Hebron has been introduced by the Latin translators; compare the Greek μόνην τῶν συγγενῶν τῆς ἐν Νεβρῶνι τιμῆς οὐ τυχοῦσαν (Niese).

29 Blatt's text omits *eam* and reports no variants.

30 The existence of children is also mentioned without further details in *Jubilees* 4:10 and Ps.-Philo *Bibl. Ant.* 1.2; cf. Louis Harry Feldman, *Flavius Josephus: Translation and Commentary, Judean Antiquities 1–4* (Leiden: 2000), 24, nn. 159–160.

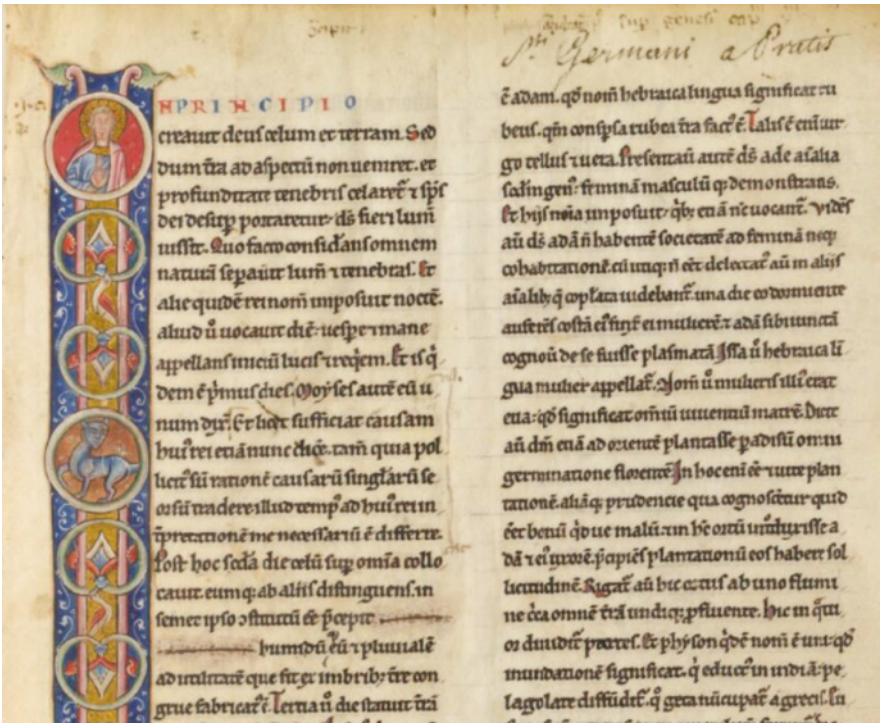

FIGURE 8.2 BnF Lat. 12511, fol. 1r: Deletion at Jos. *Ant.* 1.30. Photo courtesy of the Bibliothèque nationale de France

humidum to compensate for the removed *et* (Figure 8.2). The fact that he did not simply leave *et* to stand (which, as the first deleted word, would have been visually unobjectionable) suggests that he was also thinking about the style of the resulting text. Had he taken the simpler option of leaving *et* in place, the result would have been [*Deus*] *caelum super omnia collocauit, eumque … praecepit, et humidum eum et pluvialem ad utilitatem … fabricatus est*. This would use *et* twice, separated by only two words, to connect words in two different syntactical hierarchies. Instead, the deleter introduced *-que* to connect the two main clauses and left a single *et* to connect the adjectives *humidum* and *pluvialem*, creating a more comprehensible and stylish text.

What might have led someone to make these deletions? Deletions may be driven by a range of motives: from disapproval of content (censorship) to desire for a more accurate text (philological correction), to various forms of editing which tailor a text to the requirements of a specific readership.[31] In this case, however, the latter explanations seem a poor fit. The manuscript has not,

31 See, here, e.g., the reflections of van Renswoude, "The Censor's Rod," 561.

generally, benefited from philological correction, and it seems unlikely that the deletions were intended to "customize" it for specific audience (there are, for instance, no signs of liturgical usage or of the circulation "school" edition which aimed at greater brevity). In what follows I explore whether these deletions can productively be viewed as an act of censorship, since the very definite and obvious nature of these textual interventions seems to be a manifestation of some sort of critique. What might it be?

Perhaps the most obvious explanation to test is that the deleter removed passages which deviate from the biblical account as he knew it, that is, a version of the Latin Vulgate. It is indeed the case that none of the deleted passages printed above can be precisely paralleled in the Vulgate, with the partial exception of #11, which is implicit in both the Vulgate and the *Antiquities*. It is also true that all deletions occur within the 'biblical' portion of Josephus' narrative, that is within the first eleven books of the *Antiquities*.[32] But this explanation is, by itself, unsatisfactory, because little of the *Antiquities* corresponds precisely to the biblical account: Josephus' version offers long non-biblical speeches between the characters, background details and moral evaluations, or digressions on topics such as chronology or corroborating pagan sources. If the principle followed was to bring Josephus into conformity with the Bible, our deleter would have removed the majority of the text. In **s**, by contrast, extended Josephan narratives and speeches with no biblical *Vorlage* receive at most a minor tinkering.

Presumably, then, the deleter had specific objections to the deleted text, objections which went beyond their mere absence from the Vulgate. There is, of course, a long history of Christian readers meddling with Josephus' writings. The *Testimonium Flavianum* is the most famous example,[33] but several other instances provide historical parallels for the interventions in **s**.

Josephus, for instance, had offered an interpretation of the Eden myth of Genesis 2–3 which was irreconcilable with what would become the canonical view of the Fall in Christianity. Already in Philo we read that Adam and Eve

32 The last deletion with the characteristic line through the erased text comes at *Ant.* 11.40 (fol. 98va), in the speech of the first of Darius' three guardsmen corresponding to 1 Esra 3:17, here extolling the power of wine: the deleter removes the reference to wine's power to destroy friendship.

33 For an introduction see Alice Whealey, *Josephus on Jesus: The Testimonium Flavianum Controversy from Late Antiquity to Modern Times* (New York: 2013) and Alice Whealey, "The Testimonium Flavianum," in *A Companion to Josephus*, 345–355; for a critical edition of the Latin text, see David Levenson and Thomas Martin, "The Latin Josephus on Jesus, John the Baptist, and James: Critical Texts of the Latin Translation of the *Antiquities* and Rufinus' Translation of Eusebius' *Ecclesiastical History* Based on Manuscripts and Early Printed Editions," *Journal for the Study of Judaism* 45 (2014): 1–79.

were *immortal* before they ate from the Tree of Knowledge, a theory which accounts for their notorious failure to die on eating the forbidden fruit, since their survival makes a lie of God's statement "on the day you eat of it you shall surely die."[34] Various explanations were proposed to show that, contrary to the surface meaning of the text, it was God, not the Serpent, who told humans the truth about the consequences of disobedience. Perhaps by "on the day" God meant "within a millennium"; perhaps in his omnipotent mercy he could delay a punishment which he had omnisciently foretold; the favoured Christian interpretation was that by "you will die" he had meant "you will become mortal."[35]

Josephus' Greek text, by contrast, has God say to Adam that, had he not been disobedient, he would have had a long and easy life (not an endless life) – a statement which clearly assumes that humans were *not* created immortal:

> "ἀλλ᾽ ἐμοὶ μέν," εἶπεν ὁ θεός, "ἔγνωστο περὶ ὑμῶν, ὅπως βίον εὐδαίμονα … βιώσετε … πάντων δ᾽ ὑμῖν αὐτομάτων ὅσα πρὸς ἀπόλαυσιν καὶ ἡδονὴν συντελεῖ κατὰ τὴν ἐμὴν ἀνιόντων πρόνοιαν χωρὶς ὑμετέρου πόνου καὶ ταλαιπωρίας, ὧν παρόντων γῆράς τε θᾶττον **οὐκ ἂν ἐπέλθοι** καὶ **τὸ ζῆν ὑμῖν μακρὸν γένοιτο. νῦν δ᾽ εἰς** ταύτην μου τὴν γνώμην ἐνύβρισας …" (*Ant.* 1.46–7)
>
> "But I had decreed that you should live a blessed life … with everything consonant with enjoyment and pleasure growing of itself according to my providence without work and suffering on your part; in which circumstances [i.e., had you not been disobedient] old age **would not have**

34 Gen 2:17, 3:4. The Vulgate preserves the same temporal specificity of the Hebrew: "in quocumque enim die comederis ex eo morte morieris." Philo *Op.* 152 tells us that, by eating from the tree, humans exchanged a life which was "immortal" and "blessed" for one which was "moral" and "wretched."

35 This is, however, linguistically difficult and cuts against other details (particularly God's subsequent concern to prevent Adam from eating from the tree of life and gaining immortality, Gen 3:22–4). For two analyses of the interpretative issues, see Konrad Schmid, "Loss of Immortality? Hermeneutical Aspects of Genesis 2–3 and Its Early Receptions," in *Beyond Eden: The Biblical Story of Paradise* (*Gen. 2–3*) *and Its Reception History*, eds. Konrad Schmid and Christoph Riedweg, Forschungen zum Alten Testament 2 (Tübingen: 2008), 58–78 (focusing particularly on interpretation) and John Day, *From Creation to Babel: Studies in Genesis 1–11* (London: 2013), 38–41 (with a linguistic focus). The view that humans were immortal before they ate from the Tree is already found in Hellenistic Jewish texts: see *Wisdom of Solomon* 2:24 and Philo *Op.* 152, 156. For attempts of the last century to deal with the question of whether God "lies" in this passage, see James Barr, "Is God a Liar? (Genesis 2–3) – And Related Matters," *Journal of Theological Studies* 57 (2006): 1–22 (with further references).

> **come quickly** and **your life would have been long**. **But now,** having outraged this plan of mine …"

This text seems to have been tampered with in the early Christian centuries. While three manuscripts give the text cited above, Niese reports that four Greek manuscripts preserve a text in which the negative has been moved:[36]

> χωρὶς ὑμετέρου πόνου καὶ ταλαιπωρίας, ὧν παρόντων γῆράς τε θᾶσσον ἂν ἐπέλθοι καὶ τὸ ζῆν οὐ μακρὸν ὑμῖν γένοιτο. νῦν δ᾽ εἰς …

> "in which circumstances [i.e., in view of your disobedience?] old age **would have come quickly** and your **life would not have been long**. But now …"

The result is somewhat confusing, but it seems that the original counterfactual description of Adam and Eve's long and happy life *had they obeyed God* has been turned into a description of the consequences of their disobedience: namely that death 'would (have) come quickly' and that their life 'would *not* (have) be(en) long'. It seems likely that a text of this sort was used for the Cassiodoran Latin translation,[37] which makes further changes nudging it towards the standard Christian view of the Fall, relocating the words 'but now', changing the Greek optatives into Latin futures, and translating ὧν παρόντων in such a way as to make it an unequivocal reference to the consequences of disobedience (rather than the provident dispensation which preceded that disobedience). The result is:

> "…sine vestro labore atque miseria, **sed nunc malis** praesentibus senectus velox vobis **adveniet** et **non longa vita succedet**, quoniam mihi contumeliam … fecisti"

> "**…**without your work and suffering; **but now,** in these **bad** circumstances, old age **will come** upon you quickly and **a short life will follow**, since you have … affronted me."

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36 Niese reports that manuscripts RSPLE omit οὐκ before ἂν ἐπέθοι, while manuscripts SPLE read οὐ μακρὸν ὑμῖν for ὑμῖν μακρὸν (L has οὐ μακρὸν ἡμῖν). The "created mortal" variant cited first (above), which Niese prints in his text, appears to be the reading of manuscripts OMV.

37 For discussion of the relationship between the Latin and Greek texts see Randolf Lukas, "The Latin Translator's Master Copy and the Existing Greek Manuscripts in *AJ* 1–10," *Medievalia et Humanistica* 46 (2021): 149–65.

Since the Latin translation seems to be based on the altered Greek text, we can probably attribute the initial tampering to a Late Antique Greek-speaking Christian, with the final touches added in the circle of Cassiodorus during the creation of the Latin translation in the late 6th century.[38] The molding of Greek texts to suit the concerns of later Christian theology fits with the policy of various translators of the early Church, including Jerome and Rufinus. In 397, for instance, Jerome wrote in his *Letter to Vigilantius*:

> If then I have taken over what is good in him [Origen] and have either cut away or altered or ignored what is evil, am I to be regarded as guilty on the score that through my agency those who read Latin receive the good in his writings without anything of the bad?
>
> si igitur, quae bona sunt, transtuli et mala vel amputavi vel correxi vel tacui, arguendus sum cur per me Latini bona eius habeant, ignorant mala?[39]

In the later controversy about how to translate the writings of heretical authors like Origen, Jerome would (somewhat disingenuously) denounce this method of purifying by translation, instead championing the reader's right to draw their own conclusions in the face of all the evidence. In the late 6th century Cassiodorus to some degree synthesized these positions, distinguishing multiple methods of presenting heretical material depending on the readership: beginners could be given a text from which heretical views were expunged, while advanced readers might be allowed to read an unaltered text marked with the *achresimon*, a sign of rejection.[40]

Readers of the Latin translation of Josephus continued to fiddle with the text. In *Antiquities* 1.64 the inventor of music, Ἰούβαλος (Joubalos),[41] is listed

38 It is, however, not impossible that the change to the Greek was the work of the Latin translators themselves.

39 Jerome, *Letter to Vigilantius* (397) in *Sancti Eusebii Hieronymi Epistulae*, ed. Isidorus Hilberg. CSEL 54 (Vienna: 1910), 577 (trans. W. H. Fremantle).

40 Cassiodorus, *Institutiones,* 1.1.8. Irene van Renswoude and Evina Steinová, "The Annotated Gottschalk: Critical Signs and Control of Heterodoxy in the Carolingian Age," in *La Controverse carolingienne sur la prédestination. Histoire, textes, manuscripts*, eds. Pierre Chambert-Protat, Jérémy Delmulle, Warren Pezé, Jeremy Thompson, Haut Moyen Âge 32 (Tunhout: 2017), 243–270, argue that the *achresimon* refers to the *obelus*. The dispute about whether and how heretical texts should be censored, altered, or labelled in the course of translation is traced in detail by van Renswoude, "The Censor's Rod," 568–91, who follows the controversy over the translation of Origen and its reception in later centuries (see esp. pp. 589–90 for Cassiodorus).

41 The names of the three brothers (Ἰώβηλος, Ἰούβαλος, Ἰούβηλος) seem to have converged during their translation into Latin (with both ω and ου becoming *o*, resulting in *Iobel*,

along with his two brothers among the sinful descendants of Cain, a patriarch distinguished by the august title *doctor in scelestis studiis*. Cain rears a tribe of bloodthirsty, innovative, and avaricious progeny, each generation worse than the last (*Ant.* 1.60–2, 66). Towards the end of his family tree, we find the three sons of Lamech – Jobelos (biblical 'Jabal'), Joubalos (biblical 'Jubal'), and Joubelos (biblical 'Tubal-Cain') – who appear among Cain's descendants and are described respectively as a tent-dwelling shepherd, the inventor of music, and the first forger of metal and weapons.

The original Latin translators rendered the passage faithfully but, at some point, a music-loving reader seems to have interfered. In a number of Latin texts Joubalos, the inventor of music, disappears from the vicious offspring of Cain (*Ant.* 1.64) and turns up some chapters later (between *Ant.* 1.69 and 1.70) among the virtuous descendants of Seth, who had pioneered the knowledge of astronomy and inscribed their useful knowledge on pillars of stone and brick to allow it to survive the cataclysm predicted by Adam (*Ant*. 1.70–1). In this text, and its many copies, Josephus now seemed to class music among the virtuous inventions of mankind. But the intervention had unintended consequences: in the new text Joubalos, relocated to be the last of the progeny of Seth, now appeared to be the creator of the two pillars. The combination of this transposition and later readers' commitment to the original biblical genealogy (Gen 4:19–22, where the corresponding figure – Jubal, the inventor of music – is a descendent of Cain) associated the two pillars of antediluvian knowledge with the wicked spawn of Cain, and this had a significant impact on the medieval reception of that legend, explored by Jean-Marie Fritz.[42] Although it cannot be precisely dated, the intervention must have occurred between the Latin translation in the late 6th century and the early 9th century. The reading came to be found

Iobal, *Iobel*) and then been confused in the manuscript tradition, with the result that all three brothers are, in Blatt's critical edition, called *Iobel* at *Ant.* 1.64, though many manuscripts offer variations on the brothers' names. For clarity, I use transliterated versions of Josephus' Greek names in my discussion of these figures.

42 Fritz, "Translatio studii," 133–6 esp. n.25, discusses in detail the wider ancient and medieval legends surrounding this story, with further references to the Josephan transposition and the manuscripts which attest it. Note that texts with the "transposed" and "untransposed" versions of these passages came to be combined, resulting in manuscripts which placed Iobal / Joubalos the musician both in his "original" position (among Cain's descendants) and in the "transposed" position (among Seth's descendants): so, **Cl** (Troyes Bibl. Mun. 137: in the margin at 1.64, in the main text at 1.69–70) and **Nv** (London, BL, Harley 3883: in the main text in the first hand in both passages).

in a wide range of manuscripts, particularly in 12th-century Paris (including **s**, although our deleter passed over it without interference).[43]

Between them, these two alterations provide precedents for the alteration of Josephus' text by Christian readership, but their differences from the deletions in **s** are illuminating. The transposition of "Iobal / Joubalos" was motivated by a specific objection to a specific aspect of the content. When it comes to the question of the immortality of the first humans, Christian scribes and translators progressively moulded Josephus' words to fit contemporary exegesis of the Old Testament. The deleter of **s**, by contrast, was far more interventionist, altering numerous and diverse passages, several of them apparently inconsequential since their content is also present or implicit in the adjacent undeleted sentences. As such, I suggest that his motive was not mere disagreement with particular details in Josephus but rather a more broadly critical attitude towards the text or its author. In this, the deleter differed from many medieval Christians, who prized Josephus and valued his testimony even when it seemed to clash with the Bible. Although the evidence admits of little certainty, I will argue that the most plausible background for these deletions is the longstanding debate among Christians on Jewish scriptural exegesis and the degree to which it represented an enrichment, a threat, or an affront to the Christian understanding of the Bible. Although this debate had been ongoing since the earliest days of the Church,[44] with intermittent convulsions, I suggest that these unusual textual interventions make most sense in the light of the unprecedented physical attacks on Jewish Talmudic literature of the 13th century.

In the 12th century, France saw a surge of interest in Jewish sources among biblical scholars. A particularly important location for this development was the monastery of St Victor in Paris, where Hugh of St Victor and later his student Andrew had attempted to bring their contemporaries down from the heights of allegorical and tropological reading to focus their minds on the literal and historical senses of the text. The literal meaning was, they argued, the foundation on which all else rested, "the wax of the honeycomb." In pursuing this

43 Fritz, "Translatio studii," 134, observes that the transposition is attested by Hrbanus Maurus' commentary on Genesis (c. 822). We can see it at a similar date in Cologny Bodmer 98, a manuscript written at Nonantula in the second quarter of the 9th century (the text is missing from 4ra, but present – in the first hand – at 4va–vb).

44 Origen, for instance, had claimed that the Hebrew Bibles which Jews gave to Christians had been distorted and tampered from polemical motives: see Anthony Grafton and Megan Williams, *Christianity and the Transformation of the Book: Origen, Eusebius, and the Library of Caesarea* (Cambridge, MA: 2008), 121.

goal, Hugh and his students engaged closely with their Jewish contemporaries in the rationalist and literalist tradition inaugurated by the Rabbi Rashi in the 11th century. Andrew states that his master Hugh "learnt the literal sense of the Pentateuch from the Jews." Both Hugh and Andrew conducted conversations with Jewish exegetes, learned some Hebrew, and cited the Hebrew as well as the Vulgate texts of the Bible. Some of the positions which turn up in the mouth of Hugh's *Hebraei* can be found in Rashi and in the writings of Hugh's contemporaries Joseph Kara and Rashbam, Rashi's grandson.[45]

Andrew was himself willing, on certain points, to discard Christian in favor of Jewish interpretation, writing, for instance, "we follow the Jews and Josephus rather than Bede." The *explicit* on our earliest manuscript of Andrew's Heptateuch, probably from mid-12th-century Beaupré, identifies his sources as: "Augustine, Jerome, Josephus, Origen, many others, and the traditions of the Jews." Petrus Comestor's *Histories*, later dubbed the *Historia Scholastica* since it became the standard class-room text among biblical students in the Late Middle Ages, follows Hugh and Andrew in citing *Hebraei* (often lifting quotes directly from his predecessors' commentaries) as well as Josephus, whose *Antiquities* he cites even where it conflicts with the Bible.[46] As Sara Moscone has shown, Comestor exerts himself to find ways of reconciling both traditions so as to preserve the authority of *both* "Moses" and Josephus and gives remarkable weight to the latter's evidence.[47]

The extremely positive attitude towards Jewish Scriptural exegesis shown by Hugh, Andrew, Comestor, and a number of Andrew's students prompted a reaction associated with another Victorine scholar. Richard of St Victor, also a pupil of Hugh, wrote with particular vehemence against Andrew's interpretation of the prophecy at Isaiah 7:14, traditionally taken by Christians to refer to the birth of Christ. In his *De Emanuele*, Richard accuses Andrew and his students of advocating the Jewish interpretation by writing Christ out of

45 For the development of the Victorine movement see the chapters on the Victorines and Andrew of St Victor in Beryl Smalley, *The Study of the Bible in the Middle Ages*, 2nd ed. (New York: 1952), 83–195. The account of and citations from Hugh, Andrew, and Richard in this paragraph and the following are drawn from 102, 110, 126, 164, 169.

46 See Beryl Smalley, "The School of Andrew of St Victor," *Recherches de Théologie Ancienne et Médiévale* 11 (1939): 145–167; Smalley, *Study of the Bible*, 179, and Louis Harry Feldman, "The Jewish Sources of Peter Comestor," in *Begegnungen zwischen Christentum und Judentum in Antike und Mittelalter; Festschrift für Heinz Schreckenberg*, eds. Dietrich-Alex Koch and Hermann Lichtenberger (Göttingen: 1993), 93–121.

47 See particularly Sara Moscone, "Ricenzione e trasformazione di Josephus Latinus nell' Historia Scholastica di Pietro Comestore" (PhD Diss. Bern: Forthcoming).

the prophecy and mounts a detailed critique of the positions of "Jews, or the Judaizers."[48] Elsewhere, in his work on the tabernacle, he writes:

> They think that [Josephus], as a Jew, saw the tabernacle and wrote what was known to himself as true. It seems clear to me, from the witness of Scripture that he never saw it … Let Josephus be gladly admitted in those things which he knew from experience, or from authoritative Scripture. Where he judges otherwise, I confidently prefer Exodus, or whatever other books I find in the canon, to him.[49]

Those frustrated by "Judaizing" exegesis did not shrink from expressing themselves in the margins of manuscripts. A late medieval reader of Andrew's commentary on Isaiah wrote next to Andrew's interpretation of Isaiah 51:5 ("My just one is near at hand"): "You punish your text with sufficient violence, while you strive too much to Judaize."[50] The point had been formulated sharply long before, with specific reference to Josephus and Philo, by Amolo of Lyons in the late 9th century.[51] Such critiques of "Judaizing" were neither new, nor

48 Richard of St Victor, *De Emanuele* in PL 196, coll. 601–66 (the characterization of the opponents as *Judaei vel judaizantes* can be found at, e.g., col. 607). Richard's critique of Andrew, and those of his students whom he "deceived", is explained in clear terms in the introduction, col. 601, where he talks of Andrew's commentary on Isaiah: "in quo nonnulla minus caute posita, minus catholice disputata inveni. In multis namque scripturae illius locis ponitur Judaeorum sententia quasi sit non tam Judaeorum quam propria, et velut vera. Super illum autem locum: *Ecce virgo concipiet, et pariet filium*, Judaeorum objectiones vel quaestiones ponit, nec solvit, et videtur velut eis palmam dedisse, dum eas veluti insolubiles relinquit. In ejusmodi itaque positionibus scandalizantur peritiores, infamantur imperitiores, in tantum ut usque hodie ex ejus discipulis existant qui supra positam prophetiam non de beata Maria, quin potius de prophetissa dictam contendant. Ad tollendum ergo errorem vel eorum qui jam decepti sunt, vel adhuc decipi possunt, statui aliqua scribere, et positis objectionibus obviare."

49 Richard of St Victor, *De Tabernaculo*, in PL 196, col. 214 (trans. Smalley). The broader context runs: "Notandum in primis quod quidam quasi pro auctoritate recipiunt, quidquid in Josepho de istis scripta reperiunt. Putant enim eum (utpote Judaeum) tabernaculum vidisse, et eo ipso tam vera quam nota scripsisse. Mihi autem secundum testimonia Scripturarum luce clarius constat quod tabernaculum nunquam viderit. Nam quae, quaeso, Scriptura, vel saltem fingit ipsum reportatum de loco ubi illud Jeremias ex divino responso abscondit? Libenter recipiatum Josephus in his quae per experientiam novit, vel ex authenticis scripturis colligit. Nam ubi aliter sentit, confidenter ei Exodum praefero, vel quoscunque libros in canone reperio."

50 Paris BnF Lat. 574: 70v: *Satis violenter hunc textum exsequeris dum nimis iudaizare tu niteris* (trans. Smalley).

51 On Amolo's *Letter, or Book against the Jews to King Charles*, see Bat-Sheva Albert, "*Adversus Judaeos* in the Carolingian Empire," in *Contra Iudaeos: Ancient and Medieval Polemics*

exceptional: they belong in the broader context of Christian debates over the literal and allegorical meanings of scripture, with the former – preference for letter of the Law and its literal meaning – often associated with the flesh and Judaism, and the latter associated with the Spirit and Christianity.[52]

In the 13th century Christian attacks on Jewish literature became physical: a Jewish convert to Christianity, Nicholas Donin, presented a list of 36 accusations against the Talmud to Pope Gregory IX in 1236, leading to inquisitorial proceedings in Paris in 1240.[53] Gregory commanded Christian rulers to confiscate, investigate, and burn the Talmud in 1242 and again in 1244. The events were nearly repeated in 1247. Donin's accusations originated in Paris and it was in France that the destruction was carried out most thoroughly. In 1267 Clement IV ordered the expurgation of the Talmud and other Jewish books to ensure conformity with the Bible and remove blasphemy, assigning a special role to Dominican and Franciscan friars.[54] Given the probable date of the textual interventions in **s** – 13th-century France – it is possible that these deletions were inspired by the contemporary practice of censoring the Talmud. That is to say, that a Christian reader may have decided to treat Josephus' departures from the Bible in the same way as he or his contemporaries were treating the Oral Torah as preserved in Hebrew books.

This hypothesis is difficult to test since it is hard to know what any given Christian monk from the 13th or 14th century might have considered a "Judaizing" interpretation. To some degree this may have depended on his knowledge of Hebrew and his familiarity with contemporary Jewish interlocutors, as well as his reading of ancient "Jewish" texts. But a sensitivity to particularly "Judaizing" ideas could also have arisen from purely inter-Christian debates like those between Richard and Andrew of St Victor. Among Christians

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between Christians and Jews, eds. Ora Limor and Guy G. Stroumsa (Tübingen: 1991), 135–142; the reference to the "impious Jews" Josephus and Philo (ch. 24, PL 116.156d-157a) is cited and discussed by Richard Matthew Pollard, "The *De Excidio* of 'Hegesippus' and the Reception of Josephus in the Early Middle Ages," *Viator* 46 (2015): 65–100, at 65–6.

52 For a broad overview and further references see David Nirenberg, *Anti-Judaism*: *A History of a Way of Thinking* (London: 2015), 87–134, 183–216.

53 The nature of this proceeding and the events leading up to it are discussed by Robert Chazan, "The Condemnation of the Talmud Reconsidered (1239–1248)," *Proceedings of the American Academy for Jewish Research* 55 (1988): 11– 30.

54 See Jeremy Cohen, *Living Letters of the Law: Ideas of the Jew in Medieval Christianity* (Berkeley: 1999), 31–2. Jeremy Cohen, *The Friars and the Jews: The Evolution of Medieval Anti-Judaism* (Ithaca, NY: 1982), suggests that the events of the 13th century were a radical development unprecedented in the Church's relationship to rabbinic Judaism; cf. the qualifications in Chazan, "Condemnation of the Talmud." See also Kenneth R. Stow, *Popes, Church, and Jews in the Middle Age: Confrontation and Response* (Ashgate: 2007), 21–9.

who opposed "Judaizing" exegesis, knowledge of the subject may have been both limited and second-hand, possibly restricted to a handful of passages and interpretations highlighted by recent controversies. One of the most accessible sources would have been the Latin translations of Greek works by ancient Jewish authors, for instance the works of Josephus and Philo, who were credited with the authorship of many more works than they are today.[55] But it is also possible that some non-biblical details struck contemporaries as particularly "Judaizing" because they were associated with the Jews in contemporary exegetical quarrels, whether disputes between Christians and Jews or simply between Christians – with "Judaizing" serving as one of many terms of polemical critique.

Several details removed in **s** do, in fact, overlap with Jewish traditions preserved in the Midrash or other rabbinic or haggadic sources: there is a rabbinic tradition that Cain buried Abel, resembling deleted passage #3 where Cain hides the body.[56] Rabbinic tradition also reports that Cain repented his crime and made a sacrifice, as does Josephus' Cain (see deletion #4).[57] I have, however, found no evidence that these details were thematized, and thus connected with Jewish exegesis in Christian biblical commentary of this period, and it is far from clear that a Christian exegete who deprecated the value of Jewish sources would have been aware of them.[58] Equally, many other pass sages which the deleter left *undisturbed* in **s** can also be paralleled in Jewish sources. Josephus' association of Cain with measuring instruments at *Ant*. 1.61, for instance, recalls a haggadic interpretation whereby the name Cain (קַיִן) is related to "cane / measuring rod" (קנה), and a rabbinic interpretation whereby

55 On the tradition of ascribing 4 Maccabees to Josephus (also in Jerome's biography of Josephus at *De vir. ill.* 13), see Heinrich Dörrie, ed., *Passio ss. Machabaeorum: Die antike lateinische Übersetzung des IV. Makkabäerbuches* (Göttingen: 1938) and Folker Siegert, *Einleitung in die hellenistisch-jüdische Literatur* (Berlin: 2016), 564–565; Jerome's ascription of the *Wisdom of Solomon* to *Philo Judaeus* (*Praef. in lib. Sol.*) was accepted in 12th-century France by, for example, Hugh of St Victor (see Smalley, *Study of the Bible*, 134–135).

56 Pirkei de-Rabbi Eliezar 21.

57 Cf. Feldman, *Flavius Josephus, ad Ant.* 1.58, 21, n. 122, citing *Midrash Lev. Rabbah* 10.5, *Midrash Deut. Rabbah* 8.1, *Pirkei de-Rabbi Eliezer* 21; *Targum Pseudo-Jonathan* on Gen. 4:24; cf. Louis Ginzberg, *The Legends of the Jews*, vol. 5, 1st ed. (Philadelphia: 1937), 140, n. 23 and 142, n. 31 (who notes that the older Jewish sources speak of the earth receiving only the blood, not the body) with 141, n. 26 (for the insincere repentance of Cain and mitigation of the punishment).

58 I examined the works of Andrew of St Victor and Petrus Comestor *ad loc.* in the editions of Charles Lohr and Rainer Berndt, *Andreae De sancto Victore opera I. Expositio super Heptateuchum*, CCCM 53 (Turnhout: 1986), and Sylwan, *Scolastica Historia*.

Cain kills Abel with an instrument of this sort.[59] Likewise, Cain's fear that he would be attacked by wild animals (*Ant.* 1.59) is attested in Philo and the Midrash.[60] The deleter of **s** passed over these passages without intervention. Similarly, several passages which are deleted in **s** seem to run contrary to all the traditional Jewish interpretations collected in Ginzberg.[61] There can, then, be no question of a well-informed and concerted attempt to remove details from Josephus which agreed with the Talmud against the Vulgate. It is worth noting, as well, that many of the deletions are not amenable to this kind of explanation because they are, above all, stylistic, and thus do not admit of a parallel in any other Jewish sources.

But hostility to "Judaizing" interpretation of Scripture is not the same thing as a detailed engagement with Jewish literature. Historically the spectre of Jewishness and Judaizing often seems to be the product of internal Christian debates rather than the result of direct contact with real Jews or their writings.[62] If it is correct to link the critical attitude evinced by the deletion of **s** with "anti-Judaizing" sentiments, then many details removed could have been considered Jewish simply by virtue of being found in Josephus and not in the Vulgate. Despite Josephus' quasi-adoption into the Christian canon, attested in Jerome's *De viris illustribus* and Cassidorus' *Institutiones divinarum et saecularium litterarum*,[63] readers were often very aware of Josephus' Judaism. This was part of his appeal to Christians: it enabled him to be both a native exegete of Hebrew Scripture and allowed the *Testimonium* to function as an independent witness to the divinity of Christ. His authority among Christian readers was thus intimately

59 Ginzberg, *Legends of the Jews*, 137–8, n. 20 and 144–45, n. 41, who cites *Midrash Gen. Rabbah* 22.8; cf. Feldman, *Flavius Josephus, ad Ant*. 1.61, 22, n. 132.

60 Feldman, *Flavius Josephus, ad Ant.* 1.59, 21, n. 126 cites *Midrash Gen. Rabbah* 22.12 and Philo *Quaest. in Gen.* 1.74.

61 So, for instance, the story of Abraham and Isaac returning home 'to Sarah' (Josephus) runs differently in BR 56.1 and MHG I, 327, where Abraham returns home alone while Isaac sojourns three years in Paradise, causing Sarah to die in the belief that her son has been sacrificed; cf. Ginzberg, *Legends of the Jews*, 253, nn. 254–5.

62 As observed by Nirenberg, *Anti-Judaism*, 93 and *passim*. See also Cohen, *Living Letters*.

63 For overviews see Heinz Schreckenberg, *Flavius-Josephus-Tradition* and Heinz Schreckenberg, "The Works of Josephus and the Early Christian Church," in *Josephus, Judaism, and Christianity*, eds. Louis Feldman and Gohei Hata (Detroit: 1987), 315–324. Cassiodorus names Josephus first in a list of ecclesiastical historians necessary for a Christian education, followed by Eusebius, Socrates, Sozomenus and so on. He goes on to state that his *amici* had translated Josephus' 22 books (i.e., *Antiquities* and *Against Apion*, cf. *Institutiones* 1.17.1). Jerome had included Josephus (with the full citation of the *Testimonium Flavianum*) in his *De viris illustribus* 13. He was, with Philo, one of the *uiri doctissimi Iudaeorum* whom Jerome often mentioned with respect (further Huber-Rebenich, "Lies den Josephus!"). See also Hilliard in this volume.

connected to his status as a Jew, a perception which sometimes precipitated itself into the manuscripts. The humanist reader of a 10th-century Beneventan manuscript, today in Naples, was not the first to underline this fact when he jotted into his margin "Josephus is, therefore, a Jew" (*ergo Iosephus Judaeus*).[64] The constant tension in Christianity between those who valued and those who deprecated Jewish biblical knowledge seem to provide the most likely explanation for the irreverent attitude towards Josephus implicit in the deletions in s. The very arbitrariness of the deletions suggests, I think, that we are dealing with a broader hostility towards Josephus' authority rather than a tightly focused theological or stylistic agenda. If the deleter considered Josephus an overvalued source of little worth, he might have felt justified in correcting his testimony or his style wherever he happened to see fit. The very act of correction seems to be a performance of disrespect for Josephus' authority as a scriptural exegete.

It is worth going through the individual passages and considering possible motives in each case. In some instances, it is easier to imagine what might have motivated the deletion. Josephus' account, also in Philo, that God placed a layer of ice around the heavens on the second day of creation (κρύσταλλόν τε περιπήξας αὐτῷ [s.c. τῷ οὐρανῷ], see #1 for the Latin) is strikingly different from the Vulgate's notion of a *firmamentum* in the middle of the waters, dividing the waters above from those beneath.[65] While the two accounts can be made compatible if one interprets Josephus' circle of ice *as* the firmament and locates this between the waters within the heavens (though this is not what Josephus seems to mean by περιπήξας = Lat. *circumfingens*), the Josephan inclusion of 'ice' seems a striking novelty to those familiar with the biblical account. Yet this detail had worked its way into contemporary cosmology and sat at the center of a broader exegetical debate.[66] Andrew of St Victor's commentary on

64 Bibl. Naz. Cod. Lat. V F 34 (39v) commenting on *Ant.* 2.205 where Josephus talks about the attempted extermination of "our people" (*generis nostri*, i.e., the aforementioned Hebrews/Israelites) by the Egyptians.

65 See Philo, *On Dreams,* 1.21, 1.623. For a discussion of the differences between the second day of creation in the Bible (OT) and Josephus, see Adolf Schlatter, *Die Theologie des Judentums nach dem Bericht des Josephus* (Güttersloh: 1932), 13 with n.3, and Thomas W. Franxman, *Genesis and the "Jewish Antiquities" of Flavius Josephus*, Biblica et Orientalia 35 (Rome: 1979), 40–42.

66 See here Greti Dinkova-Bruun, "How Do Waters Stay Above the Firmament?: British Library, MS Additional 62130 and its 'De aquis supra firmamentum quaestio quaedam,'" in *Teaching and Learning in Medieval Europe. Essays in Honour of Gernot R. Wieland*, eds. Greti Dinkova-Bruun and Tristan Major (Turnhout: 2017), 211–222, who reviews various positions taken in the medieval world, including that the waters are literally real and rationally explicable, that they are literally real but beyond comprehension and can only be understood allegorically, and that they do not exist but are metaphorical.

Genesis took the view that the firmament was made of ice and devoted a long discussion to its nature, along with a paraphrase of Josephus, though he does not follow Josephus in locating the ice *above* the rest of the heavens, rather than "between" the waters.[67] Petrus Comestor was also of the view that the *firmamentum* was made of frozen water, though he did not name a source.[68] It may be the case that the reader of **s** identified Josephus as the source of the idea that the firmament was made of ice or that he objected to the notion that the firmament was above, not between, the heavens. The deletion removes both ideas.

While it is easy, here, to locate this deletion within contemporary exegetical debates, the same is not true of the rest. No other deletion from the first book of the *Antiquities* plays a comparable role in the works of Andrew or of Comestor – either Josephan details are not followed, or their version is so completely different that it has no relevance to the minor tinkering with the Josephan account that we find in **s**. In some cases, it may be that specific theological motifs are targeted. Two deleted passages feature a sinner being addressed rather caustically by God and then begging for mercy. In deletion #2 God states that Adam's silence is the result of his bad conscience, not his virtue, whereupon Adam begs for forgiveness and pleads with God not to punish him too harshly. In #3 God sarcastically professes his amazement that Cain is unable to give the whereabouts of his brother *whom he has murdered*, whereupon Cain sacrifices to God and begs him not to become angry with him. One might

67 See Andrew, *In Genesim*, 218–257 (*ad* Gen 1:6): "*Dixit quoque Deus: fiat firmamentum in medio aquarum*. … Nemo miretur *firmamentum* ex aquis factum fuisse, cum crystallinus lapis, cuius magna firmitas magnaque perspicuitas est, ex aquis facta sit. Iosephus tamen hoc caelum secunda die factum et super omnia locatum, crystallo sibi affixo ex praecepto Dei, per se subsistere memorat, dicens etiam ipsum humidum et pluuiale esse propter utilitatem eorum, quae in terra fiunt. Quod de aereo caelo, terris proximo et terram pluuiis et humore suo fecundante, satis congrue accipi posset, si non obstaret, quod dicitur super omnia locatum. Asserunt tamen quidam sidereum caelum, quod **firmamentum** dicimus, subtilissimus quibusdam poris supercaelestes illas aquas, quarum hunc solum usum credunt fecundandis terris, transmittere et illum mellis dulcorem, qui in arborum foliis et agrorum superficie repperitur, inde originem ducere. Sed siue ad hunc siue ad quemcumque alium usum ibi sint, aquas illas ibi esse dubium non est. Philosophorum uero assertio, quae negat aquas super caelis esse posse."

68 Comestor, *Historia Scholastica*, Genesis 4 ("De opere secunde diei," 1058a ff.): "Fecit ergo ea die Deus firmamentum in medio aquarum, id est quandam exteriorem mundi superficiem ex aquis congelatis, ad instar cristalli solidatem et perlucidam, intra se cetera sensibilia continentem ad imaginem teste que in ouo est, et in eo fixa sunt sidera. Et dicitur firmamentum, non tantum propter sui soliditatem sed quia terminus est aquarum que super ipsum sunt, firmum et intransgressibile. Dicitur etiam celum, quia celat, id est tegit omnia inuisibilia uel sensibilia."

speculate that these divine rebukes were felt to be inappropriately vindictive, and the spectacle of groveling and fear considered unfitting for the relationship between God and the first generations of humans.

Other deletions may have been connected with concerns about style or propriety: the celebratory hug and kiss of Abraham and Isaac and their return to Sarah's domestic domain (#10), the reference to the "idols" stolen by the family of a biblical patriarch (*idola*, #12),[69] or the negative judgement of Rachel introduced by the Latin translators (#14). The idea that Dina, the victim of Sichem's rape, had been violated on the way to buy an *ornamentum* (#13)[70] could be seen to tar the reputation of the victim in a story which required a clear distinction between the pious victim and the dastardly aggressor.[71] The deletion of Josephus' narratorial comments in deletions #5 and #6 are particularly odd: these remove the narrator's voice where it intrudes upon the story, particularly where it draws attention to the multiplicity of traditions and the different possibilities open to the narrator. Elsewhere, the reason for intervention may simply have been a lack of patience with sentences garbled in translation and transmission (#9), though one could of course point to many other comparable passages which are not deleted.

Can the deletions discussed so far be paralleled in the complaints which Christian exegetes levelled at "Judaizing" interpreters of Scripture, or which the Papacy and the Parisian inquisition levelled at the Talmud from the mid-13th century? The accusations of Donin noted five categories of accusation: belief in the authority of the Talmud and the rabbis, hostility towards Christians, blasphemies against God, blasphemies against Jesus, Mary, and Christianity, and stupidities or inanities. The evidence from the Parisian inquisition of 1240 suggests that the first category played no role in the proceedings themselves, and the later Papal records suggest that subsequent investigation of the Talmud by the authorities focused *specifically* on abuse and errors within the Talmud.[72] These, then, seem to be the issues felt to be particularly sensitive in the 13th century. And indeed, many of the deletions reviewed above could plausibly have been classed under these headings: additions of non-biblical details,

69 Representing Greek τύπους at *Ant*. 1.323. By contrast the other reference to the same objects earlier at *Ant.* 1.110 (τύπους τῶν θεῶν) had been rendered by *simulacra deorum*, which may have had a less problematic contemporary resonance.

70 An uncomfortably literal translation of τὸν κόσμον which may have been interpreted pejoratively as a reference to jewellery.

71 Ginzberg, *Legends of the Jews*, 313, n.285, notes several sources which associate the disaster with Dina's desire to be seen in the street: Tan. B. I, 171–2; Tan. Wa-Yishlah 5–7; BR 80.1.

72 See Chazan, "Condemnation of the Talmud," 20–1.

including questionable accounts of the natural world, garbled text, irrelevant narratorial interventions, immodest behaviour by biblical heroes, and so on. In a few cases, however, it is hard to imagine what quarrel the deleter could have had, since the details removed are repeated in the immediate context and the passages contain no obviously objectionable language, challenging content, or intrusion by the narrator (esp. #8 and #11). If the above suggestions are correct, these passages are perhaps the most interesting – the sign of a reader who rates his own judgement so much higher than Josephus' that he indulges in whimsical correction of Josephus almost for its own sake, perhaps simply when he felt that the text had become somewhat repetitive.

While it is difficult to find a fully satisfying explanation for each of the deletions published above, this morass of somewhat indiscriminate erasure seems revealing in itself. The deleter displays indifference towards the immense authority Josephus commanded in medieval France, indifference which verges on casual disregard. A greater contrast with the views of Christians from Jerome and Cassiodorus, to Hugh and Andrew of St Victor, and Petrus Comestor could scarcely be found. Yet, ironically, those deletions which touch on points of theological and cosmological importance may also show an awareness of Josephus' significance. By seeking to co-opt Josephus' authority for his own interpretations the deleter seems to recognize the Jewish historian's authority in Scriptural interpretation, even as he performatively denigrated it.

CHAPTER 9

Josephus in the Twelfth-Century Latin East

Julian Yolles

1 Introduction[1]

In the wake of the First Crusade, western Europeans settled in territories they conquered in the Levant that at one point stretched from Edessa and Antioch in the north to large swathes of the Sinai Peninsula in the south. As in western Europe, these settlers, called "Franks," employed Latin as a language of learning, religion, and entertainment that bridged the divides between speakers of diverse cultures. Along with this literary language came a shared set of ancient texts. This chapter suggests viewing the Franks of the twelfth-century Levant as a community of authors and readers and argues that the first-century Jewish writer Flavius Josephus possessed a unique relevance to this community.

While Josephus' influence and the use of his works has received some attention in connection to accounts of the First Crusade, there exists surprisingly little scholarship on his reception in the Latin East.[2] Residing in the very lands that formed the backdrop to the Josephan corpus, Frankish authors offer a unique perspective that, beyond expanding our understanding of the reception of Josephus, presents a window into the formative stages of Levantine Latin culture. Elsewhere, I have discussed the biblical books of the Maccabees as a cultural and religious touchstone for Levantine Franks.[3] The widespread

1 Earlier iterations of this paper were presented at the Eighth International Medieval Latin Congress in Vienna in 2017 and at a workshop of the Centre for Medieval Literature at the University of York in 2018. I am grateful for the comments I received on both occasions, and to the editors of this volume for their helpful suggestions. Finally, I wish to thank Aglae Pizzone and Lars Boje Mortensen for commenting on a final version of this paper. The research for this article was supported by the Carlsberg Foundation and by the Danish National Research Foundation (project DNRF102ID).

2 The notable exception is Karen Kletter's discussion of the reception of Josephus in the Latin Middle Ages, which includes a section on the Latin East: "The Christian Reception of Josephus in Late Antiquity and the Middle Ages," in *A Companion to Josephus*, 360–80. See now also Edgington in this volume.

3 Julian Yolles, "The Maccabees in the Lord's Temple: biblical imagery and Latin poetry in Frankish Jerusalem," in *The Uses of the Bible in Crusader Sources*, eds. Elizabeth Lapina and Nicholas Morton (Leiden: 2017), 421–39.

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Frankish appropriation of the Israelites and the Maccabees as models for a Christian society in the Holy Land meant that the Jewish War, as treated by Josephus, became problematic to fit into conventional interpretations of the Roman destruction of Jerusalem as the divine punishment of Jews and as a glorious vindication of Christianity. Rather than identifying with the besieging Romans, some Frankish authors appear to have viewed these events through the eyes of the Jews. Josephus' *Jewish War* thus became, instead of a text of Christian vindication, a chilling parable of what awaited the Franks if they neglected to mend their own sinful ways.

2 The Latin East as a Community of Readers

On January 16, 1120, Patriarch Warmund and King Baldwin II of Jerusalem convened a council at the city of Nablus, some 50 km north of Jerusalem. To the Franks who struggled to maintain a hold on the lands they had conquered during and shortly after the First Crusade, the site possessed a rich significance. It was the location of the biblical city Shechem (also known as Sichem), where, according to Genesis, God confirmed the covenant he had first made with Abraham in Harran regarding the possession of the land of Canaan; here, too, the Israelites had chosen to serve the Lord after their exodus from Egypt.[4] The city was destroyed during the Jewish-Roman war in 70 A.D. and shortly thereafter rebuilt by the Roman emperor Vespasian as *Flavia Neapolis* ("New Flavian City"), or simply *Neapolis*, as the Franks referred to it.[5]

The Franks gathered in Nablus at a critical time. Roger, the Norman regent of Antioch, had been routed with his army at the Battle of the Field of Blood a year before (1119).[6] The Franks regarded the disastrous event as the result of their sins. The preamble to the Canons of Nablus explains that the Franks convened a council to curtail this sinfulness by instituting a set of stringent laws in the hopes that, instead of chastising them, the Lord might honor his covenant with his people and save them from their enemies, "just as we read happened in the case of the Israelites."[7] This communal act of reading implies that the

4 Genesis 12; Joshua 24.

5 See e.g., William of Tyre, *Chronicon,* ed. R.B.C. Huygens, CCCM 63–63A (Turnhout: 1986), 12.13, who provides an account of the Council of Nablus.

6 A full-length treatment of this battle and its significance has now appeared: Nicholas Morton, *The Field of Blood: The Battle for Aleppo and the Remaking of the Medieval Middle East* (New York: 2018).

7 Preamble to the Canons of Nablus (1120) in Benjamin Z. Kedar, "The Origins of the Earliest Laws of Frankish Jerusalem: The Canons of the Council of Nablus, 1120," *Speculum*

Franks, though spread out across the Levant, nevertheless formed a community of readers—a community that bore many of the hallmarks of what Brian Stock has termed a "textual community."[8] As members of a text-oriented group whose thinking was determined in textual terms, the Franks perceived themselves as living the scriptures, which were deeply ingrained on both an individual and communal level.

In considering the necessary conditions—or obstacles that needed to be overcome—for such a readerly community, we may point to a catalogue of books belonging to the church of Nazareth in the second half of the twelfth century. The scribe indicated that, at the time of writing, the bishop of Sidon had in his possession the church of Nazareth's copies of Augustine's *Retractationes* and *Enchiridion*.[9] This trivial notice indicates not only the limited resources even of some sizeable institutions like the church of Sidon, but also the interconnectivity of readers in the Latin East, who turned not only to the same texts, but in some cases to the same copies of texts. Thus, there existed the potential for a shared interpretive apparatus such as glosses that could closely link reading practices of even a widely dispersed community. The scant number of surviving manuscripts from the twelfth-century Latin East does not include any manuscripts of Josephus, or at least, none has hitherto securely been identified as having circulated in the Latin East.[10] Instead, we will turn to the Latin writings of authors of the twelfth-century Levant as evidence of a community of readers of Josephus, who formed for them an integral part of the intellectual and religious vocabulary.

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74 (1999): 310–35, at 331: "Cum enim … populus omnia voluptatum declivia sequeretur, ideoque cotidianis infortuniis inminutus periclitaretur, unicum eis visum est refugium, et dei misericordiam invocare et labentis populi peccatis aliqua iusticie frena inponere, quatinus et peccatis cessantibus, ut in populo Israelitico contigisse legimus, divina ulcio cessaret et penitentes filios dei misericordia, qui non mortem sed peccatoris correptionem desiderat, ab imminenti hostium periculo eriperet."

8 Brian Stock, *The Implications of Literacy. Written Language and Models of Interpretation in the 11th and 12th Centuries* (Princeton, N.J.: 1983), especially 88–101.

9 James S. Beddie, "Some Notices of Books in the East in the Period of the Crusades," *Speculum* 8 (1933): 240–42, at 241.

10 The Nazareth catalogue does list four-and-a-half quires of a text by *Egissipus* (Beddie, "Some Notices of Books," 241), which could refer to the *De excidio*, a Latin paraphrase of the *Jewish War* in five books often attributed to one Hegesippus (see below).

3 Josephus and the First Crusade

As a non-Christian author from the first century A.D. who nonetheless provided a wealth of information crucial to the history of the early Church, Josephus stood somewhere in between the classical and patristic tradition. Heinz Schreckenberg has suggested that, for many medieval readers, Josephus' works ranked alongside Scripture in terms of the importance and reliability attributed to his historical accounts, although the essays in this volume have complicated this picture.[11] The sprawling history known as the *Jewish Antiquities* was translated into Latin at the behest of Cassiodorus in the sixth century, along with the less widely-disseminated *Against Apion*.[12] Moreover, his account of the Jewish uprising against the Romans was rendered into Latin twice in the 4th century. The earliest of these renditions, the *De excidio*, represents a heavily editorialized Christian adaptation of the *Jewish War* that interprets the Roman destruction of Jerusalem as divine vengeance exacted upon the Jews for their supposed role in Jesus' crucifixion.[13] The most overtly Christian reframing of the *Jewish War* occurs in the lengthy section prefacing the description of the Roman destruction of the Temple at 5.2. As Bay has shown above, some medieval manuscripts falsely attributed this work to Ambrose, while others ascribed it to an otherwise unknown Hegesippus, possibly a corruption of the name Josephus. Others still viewed the work as part of the Josephan tradition. A more faithful Latin translation appeared shortly afterward (henceforth: "the Latin Josephus"); it was sometimes associated, most likely erroneously, with the prolific translator Rufinus of Aquileia.[14]

11 Heinz Schreckenberg, *Flavius-Josephus-Tradition*; Heinz Schreckenberg and Kurt Schubert, *Jewish Historiography and Iconography in Early and Medieval Christianity* (Assen: 1992). See especially the contribution by Pollard.

12 For the transmission of Josephus, see Tommaso Leoni, "The Text of the Josephan Corpus: Principal Greek Manuscripts, Ancient Latin Translations, and the Indirect Tradition," in *A Companion to Josephus*, 307–21 and for the Latin translations see especially David B. Levenson and Thomas R. Martin, "The Ancient Latin Translations of Josephus," in *A Companion to Josephus*, 322–44.

13 For a critical text, see Ussani.

14 The Latin Josephus has not yet received a critical edition. In citing this translation, I refer to Edward Cardwell's revision of Froben's printed edition of 1524 by section number, as well as the corresponding sections of Niese's Greek edition: *Flavii Josephi De bello Judaico, libri septem*, ed. Edward Cardwell, vol. 2 (Oxford: 1837); Flavius Josephus, *Opera*, ed. Benedictus Niese, 7 vols. (Berlin: 1885–95). For a helpful presentation of Cardwell's edition, see the online resource R.M. Pollard, J. Timmermann, J. di Gregorio, M. Laprade, and J.-F. Aubé-Pronce, 2013–2020, latinjosephus.org.

The Christian reframing of Josephus' account in the *De excidio* proved fundamental for the way Latin authors and readers in Europe interpreted the events of the Jewish War and the Roman destruction of the Temple. The notion of the Romans as divine avengers for Jesus' death gained further currency in a dramatized form through the early medieval literary tradition known as the *Vindicta Salvatoris* ("vengeance of the Savior"), which found broad dissemination and, beginning in the 13th, eventually received treatment in a variety of medieval English and French vernaculars.[15]

This prevalent Christian interpretation of the Jewish War as an act of divine vengeance may help to explain why some 12th-century authors chose to link the Roman destruction of Jerusalem to the more recent crusader conquest of the city in 1099. Two early-12th century writers of the First Crusade, both active in France, prominently referenced Josephus and his *Jewish War* at the start of their history. Baudri, bishop of Dol, provided as historical backdrop to the crusade a reference to the divinely sanctioned destruction of Jerusalem by the Romans in 70 A.D. He directed curious readers to consult the work of Josephus and immediately thereafter began his account of the First Crusade.[16] He lavished praise on Josephus as an impeccable historical author, describing him as a "most eloquent man" (*vir eloquentissimus*) and crediting him with a "renowned pen/style" (*stylo celebri*). Baudri's contemporary Guibert, Benedictine abbot of Nogent-sous-Coucy, likewise mentioned the *Jewish War* at the start of his work. Drawing an explicit comparison between his subject matter and the Jewish

15 For this tradition generally, see Stephen K. Wright, *The Vengeance of our Lord: Medieval Dramatizations of the Destruction of Jerusalem* (Toronto: 1989); for the Old and Middle French, see *La vengeance de Nostre-Seigneur: The Old and Middle French Prose Versions: The Cura sanitatis Tiberii* (*The Mission of Volusian*)*, the Nathanis Judaei legatio* (*Vindicta salvatoris*)*, and the Versions Found in the Bible en français of Roger d'Argenteuil or Influenced by the Works of Flavius Josephus, Robert de Boron and Jacobus de Voragine*, ed. A.E. Ford (Toronto: 1993); for the Middle English, see *Siege of Jerusalem*, ed. Michael Livingston (Kalamazoo, Mich.: 2004). See also Edgington, 135–36

16 Baudri of Dol, *Historia Ierosolimitana*, ed. Stephen Biddlecombe (Woodbridge: 2014), 1: "Ierusalem … multoties a tyrannis hostibus obsessam, et ad solum usque dirutam, et a propriis filiis in captivitatem abductis orbatam, variasque temporum tumultationes ante Salvatoris adventum perpessam, noverunt qui vel historiographorum libros saltem tenuiter legerunt … Iam vero Christum praedicantem super eam flesse, et eius abolitionem denuntiasse, nullus ignorat, nisi si quis forte paginam Evangelii imprudens et impudens vecorditer conculcat. Quod quomodo acciderit, legenti gesta Titi et Vespasiani indifficulter patebit: quam lectionem vir eloquentissimus Iosephus, stylo celebri consecravit." For a detailed discussion of the reception of Josephus in these early crusade narratives, see the chapter of Susan B. Edgington in this volume.

War, he argued that the crusade surpassed the events described by Josephus and merited an even greater "maturity" of style.[17]

Other twelfth-century authors did not explicitly reference Josephus in their discussions of the First Crusade, although they did bring the crusade into connection with the Roman capture of the city and the Temple. Writing *c.* 1119, Albert of Aachen interrupted his narrative of the crusader siege with a digression on the several destructions of the Temple at various points in history, concluding with the Roman destruction and Jesus' foretelling of the event.[18] Toward the end of the 12th century, Arnold of Lübeck similarly prefaced his treatment of the crusader capture of Jerusalem with a description of the Roman destruction.[19]

The prominent juxtaposition of the *Jewish War* with the First Crusade seems to have formed part of an increasingly widespread conception of the crusaders as modern versions of the Romans dispatched by a vengeful God.[20] By the 13th century, this perception of the Romans culminated in a close linking of the First Crusade and the Jewish War (the historical event, not necessarily the Josephan work, which will be indicated in italics), in such Old French works as the *Chanson d'Antioche* and *Chanson de Jérusalem*.[21]

Having sketched the broad contours of the connections in medieval literature between the Jewish War and the crusades, the following survey of

17 Guibert of Nogent, *Dei gesta per Francos*, ed. R.B.C. Huygens (Turnhout: 1996), praef.: "At ego, iuventute, gradu experientiaque provectior, non id verbis plausilibus, non versuum crepitibus enuntiandum rebar, sed maiori, si dicere audeam, quam omnes belli Iudaici Historias maturitate dignum digeri, si esset cui deus copiam super hac re tribueret, arbitrabar." Robert Levine rendered the somewhat cryptical "maiori … maturitate" here as "with greater dignity" tr. Robert Levine, *The Deeds of God through the Franks* (Woodbridge: 1997), 25.

18 Albert of Aachen, *Historia Ierosolimitana = History of the Journey to Jerusalem*, ed. and trans. Susan B. Edgington (Oxford: 2007), 6.24.

19 Arnold of Lübeck, *Chronica Slavorum*, ed. Georg Henrich Pertz, Monumenta Germaniae Historica, SS 21 (Hanover: 1869), 4.1 at 164.

20 For the development of the notion of the crusaders as divine avengers akin to the Romans, see the discussions in Joshua Prawer, *The History of the Jews in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem* (Oxford: 1988), 24–5; Jay Rubenstein, "Cannibals and Crusaders," *French Historical Studies* 31:4 (2008): 525–52; Susanna A. Throop, *Crusading as an Act of Vengeance, 1095–1216* (Farnham: 2011), 205–6; Kletter, "The Christian Reception of Josephus," *Companion to Josephus.*

21 For references to the Jewish War in the *Chanson d'Antioche* and *Chanson de Jérusalem*, see: *The Chanson d'Antioche: An Old-French Account of the First Crusade*, trans. Susan B. Edgington and Carol Sweetenham (Farnham: 2011), 107–8; *The* Chanson des Chétifs *and* Chanson de Jérusalem, trans. Carol Sweetenham (Farnham: 2016), 200.

Josephan reception will center on Latin historical prose and poetry from the 12th-century Levant, proceeding in a chronological fashion.

4 Fulcher of Chartres

The earliest Latin work under consideration is an eyewitness account of the First Crusade composed in Jerusalem by a clergyman from Chartres named Fulcher.[22] After joining the entourage of Stephen of Blois, Fulcher served Baldwin of Boulogne as chaplain and settled in Jerusalem upon the conclusion of the crusade. He began writing his account between the end of the fall of 1100 and the fall of 1101 and subsequently expanded it into an ambitious history of the Latin kingdom of Jerusalem, periodically keeping the work up to date until his death sometime in or after 1127.[23]

Unlike Baudri of Dol and Guibert of Nogent, Fulcher referenced neither Josephus nor the *Jewish War* at the start of his work. The prologue to his history, which he composed sometime between 1118–24 as a programmatic statement, instead made a typological connection between the crusaders on the one hand, and the Israelites and Maccabees on the other.[24] Fulcher drew on widespread notions in the Latin East dating back to the First Crusade itself. The crusaders seem to have regarded themselves as God's People, led by a modern Moses to the Holy Land in a new kind of Exodus, as early crusade accounts and letters to the pope by the leaders of the crusade attest.[25] As we have already seen, this

22 On the life of Fulcher of Chartres, see Wolfgang Giese, "Untersuchungen zur Historia Hierosolymitana des Fulcher von Chartres," *Archiv für Kulturgeschichte* 69 (1987): 62–115; Verena Epp, *Fulcher von Chartres: Studien zur Geschichtsschreibung des ersten Kreuzzuges* (Düsseldorf: 1990), 24–44.

23 For a lucid explanation of Fulcher's complicated working process, which involved several stages of writing and revision, see Susan B. Edgington, "The *Gesta Francorum Iherusalem expugnantium* of 'Bartolf of Nangis,'" *Crusades* 13 (2014): 21–35.

24 FC, Prol. 3. For the notion of typology or *figura* as a method that "provides the medieval interpretation of history with its general foundation and often enters into the medieval view of everyday reality" (61), see the seminal contribution by Erich Auerbach, "'Figura,'" in idem, *Scenes from the Drama of European Literature* (Gloucester, Mass.: 1984), 11–78.

25 For letters, see for example *Epistulae et chartae ad historiam primi belli sacri spectantes. Die Kreuzzugsbriefe aus den Jahren 1088–1100* (Innsbruck: 1901), no. 18, 168; for a list of references in the *Gesta Francorum* to the crusaders as a "people of God," see *Gesta Francorum*, ed. Heinrich Hagenmeyer (Heidelberg: 1890), 21–2. For other examples in Fulcher of Chartres, see FC, 1.17.1, 1.29.4, 1.30.1, 1.33.12, and see the discussion in Epp, *Fulcher von Chartres*, 153. For references to Adhémar of Le Puy, papal legate, as a new Moses, see Baudri of Dol, *Historia Ierosolimitana*, ed. Biddlecombe, 16; Raymond of Aguilers, *Historia Francorum qui ceperunt Iherusalem*, eds. John H. Hill and Laurita L. Hill (Paris: 1969),

self-identification with the Israelites continued well after the completion of the expedition, as evinced in the preamble to the Council of Nablus in 1120.

As for the Maccabees, recent scholarship has shown that the Jews who fought and died in their resistance against Seleucid rule provided a model for Christian valor to the crusaders and especially to those who continued to live in the Levant after the conclusion of the First Crusade.[26] In their appropriation of the Maccabees, the Franks could have found a precedent in the *De excidio*, where the Maccabees appear as worthy examples to a Christian audience.[27] The epitaph for the first king of Jerusalem, Baldwin I, notably presents him as a "second Judas Maccabeus" (*Iudas alter Maccabeus*).[28] Over the course of the 12th century, the knights Templar and Hospitallers also sought a close connection to the Maccabees. Bernard of Clairvaux proclaimed the Knights Templar to be "true Israelites," who relied on the might of the Lord of Hosts rather than their own valor, after the example of the Maccabees.[29] The papal bull *Milites Templi*, issued by Innocent II in either 1133 or 1137, which gave formal recognition to the Order of the Knights Templar, subsequently declared the Knights Templar "new Maccabees."[30] As for the Hospitallers, a fourteenth-century

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152; Raoul of Caen, *Tancredus*, ed. Edoardo D'Angelo, CCCM 231 (Turnhout: 2011), 2769; Robert the Monk, *Historia Iherosolimitana*, eds. Damien Kempf and Marcus G. Bull (Woodbridge: 2013), 731. For a discussion of all these passages, see my *Making the East Latin: The Latin Literature of the Levant in the Era of the Crusades* (Washington, D.C.: 2022), 52–6, 203–6.

26 Nicholas Morton, "The Defence of the Holy Land and the Memory of the Maccabees," *Journal of Medieval History* 36 (2010): 275–93; Elizabeth Lapina, "The Maccabees and the Battle of Antioch," in *Dying for the Faith, Killing for the Faith: Old-Testament Faith-Warriors (1 and 2 Maccabees) in Historical Perspective,* ed. Gabriela Signori (Leiden: 2012); Yolles, "The Maccabees in the Lord's Temple."

27 See for instance *De excidio* 5.2, at 298: "ubi est illa Macchabaeorum fides, quae quondam in paucis fudit Babylonios, Persas fugavit, Demetrium perculit, ad postremum in parvulis et mulieribus Antiochi arma gladios incendiaque superavit et pro observatione patria mori maluit quam regis imperiis obtemperare?"

28 *REX BALDEWINVS, IVDAS ALTER MACHABEVS, / SPES PATRIȩ, VIGOR ECCLESIȩ, VIRT<VS> VTRIVSQ<VE>, / QUEM FORMIDABANT, CVI DONA TRIBVTA FEREBANT / CEDAR & EGYPT<VS>, DAN AC HOMICIDA DAMASCVS / PROH DOLOR IN MODICO CLAVDITVR HOC TVMVLO*. I follow here the transcription of Elzear Horn, who visited Jerusalem in the years 1724–44. See Elzear Horn, *Ichnographiae monumentorum Terrae Sanctae, 1724–1744*, ed. E. Hoade and B. Bagatti, 2nd ed. (Jerusalem: 1962), 71. The epitaph also occurs, with a few variants, in the earlier account of Theoderich: *Peregrinationes tres: Saewulf, John of Würzburg, Theodericus*, ed. R.B.C. Huygens, *CCCM* 139 (Turnhout: 1994), 360.

29 *Liber ad milites Templi sive de laude novae militiae*, ed. Jean Leclercq, *Opera*, vol. 3 (Rome: 1963), 4.8.

30 Rudolf Hiestand, *Papsturkunden für Templer und Johanniter*, vol. 1 (Göttingen: 1972), no. 8, 214–15.

account of the foundation of the Order, which may have been originally composed as early as the late 12th century, attributes the founding of the hospital to Judas Maccabeus.[31]

Thus, while Fulcher drew a prominent typological relation between the crusaders and the Israelites and Maccabees, Vespasian and Titus were nowhere to be found in his treatment of the First Crusade. The closest examples in Fulcher of a typology between the crusaders and the Romans occur in two similar passages drawing on a scene from Book 5 of the *Jewish War*. Fulcher's description of the Jerusalemite populace swallowing their coins to avoid losing their wealth closely resembles an episode during the Roman capture of Jerusalem, with Fulcher even employing the same unusual verb to describe the act of swallowing (*transglutire*) as appears in the Latin Josephus.[32] A nearly identical scene occurs in Fulcher's treatment of the Frankish capture of Caesarea in 1101, in which Fulcher used the same verb.[33] In these passages, Fulcher's typological emphasis falls on the avaricious inhabitants of Jerusalem and Caesarea, only secondarily implying that the crusaders fulfill the role of the Romans as divine avengers.

Only in the third book of his history, covering the years 1124 through 1127, did Fulcher explicitly reference the Roman destruction of Jerusalem. In preparation for an account of the capture of Tyre by the Franks (1124), Fulcher offered his readership a lengthy excursus on the history of Tyre, which gradually developed into a sprawling reflection on the turbulent history of the Levant. Assyrians, Babylonians, and Alexander the Great had all at one time or another conquered the Holy Land and subjugated the Jews. In a tone reminiscent of the biblical book of Lamentations, Fulcher concluded the catalogue of devastating rulers as follows:

> After the space of many years, as the result of the Jews' transgressions, Antiochus Epiphanes persecuted their religion and vigorously pursued the Maccabees. After him came Pompey, who destroyed Jerusalem to great misfortune. Lastly came Vespasian, together with his son Titus, who utterly razed it to the ground. Thus, through various events, the holy city and its land have been disastrously afflicted, all the way up to our times.[34]

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31 For the text and translation, see Anthony Luttrell in *Les Légendes de l'Hôpital de Saint-Jean de Jérusalem*, ed. Antoine Calvet (Paris: 2000).

32 FC, 1.28.1; Latin Josephus, *Jewish War* 5.10.1 (Niese 420) and 5.13.4 (Niese 538). The same observation was made independently by Tomasz Pełech, "Un réemploi de Flavius Josèphe par Foucher de Chartres: L'or arraché aux cadavres," *Cahiers de civilisation médiévale* 259 (2022): 259–274. See also Edgington, 147.

33 FC 2.9.8–10.

34 FC, 3.30.8: "post annorum plurium spatia, peccatis Iudaeorum exigentibus, Antiochus Epiphanes legem eorum impugnans, Machabaeos valde coartavit. Post hunc venit

Fulcher did not maintain a straightforward typology between, on the one hand, the victorious Romans, as led by Vespasian and Titus, and the crusaders on the other. The appearance of the Roman emperors in a lengthy catalogue of foreign vanquishers represents a different kind of typology, in which sinful behavior by the Jews inevitably resulted in divine punishment in the form of subjugation to a foreign overlord. This view of history opened the problematic prospect that the Levantine Franks, as God's new chosen people that walked in the footsteps of both the Israelites and the Maccabees, could become subject to similar repercussions if they lapsed into sin.

Fulcher did not dwell on this larger typology of Levantine history. Instead, his overt use of Josephus in the second and third books of his history forms part of a typology in which he created a connection between himself and Josephus as authoritative writers of Levantine history and geography. Fulcher accomplished this feat, in the first place, by interspersing his account of the events after the First Crusade with geographical and historical extracts of the *Jewish War*.[35]

For instance, when King Baldwin II, at the instigation of Count Pons of Tripoli, decided to besiege the fortress of Raphanea in the year 1126, Fulcher quotes a passage from the *Jewish War* (the Latin Josephus) describing a river that flows alongside the city.[36] Unusually, the river runs dry at a regular interval once a week, whence it is called "Sabbatical," as though the river observed the Sabbath. Where Josephus had merely remarked on the river's noteworthiness, Fulcher, ostensibly still quoting Josephus, focalized Titus' reaction upon witnessing the stream, "at which he marveled greatly." Fulcher followed this anecdote with another quotation from the *Jewish War*—now from book 2—, about a stream near Acre that collects glassy sand, which is harvested by ships.[37] The two passages have little bearing on the siege at hand, interrupting Fulcher's narrative and serving perhaps to heighten the tension by delaying the resolution of the conflict. Fulcher's continued usage of Josephus' *Jewish War* appears to be motivated by association: having decided to provide a short digression on the river near the fort of Raphanea, Fulcher, perhaps with the *Jewish War* still open in front of him, demonstrated his mastery of information on Levantine

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Pompeius, qui Hierusalem infeliciter dissipavit. Ad ultimum vero Vespasianus cum Tito filio suo venit, qui penitus eam destruxit. Itaque per varios rerum eventus usque ad tempora nostra et civitas sancta et patria ei subdita praecipitanter exstitit vexata."

35 See especially FC, 3.46.6 and Latin Josephus, *Jewish War* 1.19.4 (Niese 373); FC, 3.51.4–5 and Latin Josephus, *Jewish War* 7.5.1 (Niese 97–99); FC, 3.52.1–3 and Latin Josephus, *Jewish War* 2.10.2 (Niese 189–91).

36 FC, 3.51.4–5 (1126); Latin Josephus, *Jewish War* 7.5.1 (Niese 97–99).

37 FC, 3.52.1–3 (1126); Latin Josephus, *Jewish War* 2.10.2 (Niese 189–91).

geography by adducing a passage on another miraculous stream before returning to his main narrative.

In other passages, Fulcher modeled himself after Josephus through paraphrase and imitation. For instance, in treating (then Count) Baldwin of Boulogne's military expedition after the conquest of Jerusalem, his digression on the Dead Sea parallels Josephus' interruption of the siege of Jerusalem in Book 5 of the *Jewish War* with an excursus on the same site:

> There is now a large lake, which they call the Dead Sea, because it does not produce anything living in it. … It is so salty that no animal or bird can drink from it. This I, Fulcher, learned by experience, when I descended from my mule into the water and took a drink with my hand, trying out the taste, and finding it more bitter than hellebore … I make a twofold conjecture about why that place is so terribly salty: first because it receives the salt of a mountain, which the water on the shore laps incessantly, and second it receives the rains that flow from the mountain into the lake; alternatively, because the bottom of the lake is so deep, that the Mediterranean, which is saline, flows into the bottom underground through some invisible current.[38]

Although Fulcher does not explicitly quote Josephus, as he does elsewhere, he has fully absorbed not only the factual information of the underlying Josephan passage but even the expository mode of the Jewish historiographer. By placing his own experiential observation at the forefront, Fulcher invited his readers to imagine him as the dedicated author on site, in possession of privileged firsthand information of Levantine geography. In demonstrating his total command of Josephus' works, or at least of the *Jewish War*, Fulcher went further than mere quotation and imitation and established a typological connection from one Levantine historiographer to another.

While Fulcher's view of history had opened up the possibility that the Franks of the Levant could, one day, be on the receiving end of a divinely sanctioned

38 FC, 2.5.1–3: "Ibi quidem lacus nunc est magnus, quem mare Mortuum vocant, eo quod nihil vivum gignat … qui adea salsus est, ut nec bestia quaelibet neque volucris ex eo bibere queat. Quod ego Fulcherus experimento didici, cum in illum de mula mea descendens et ori meo manu haustum inmittens gustu probavi et elleboro amariorem esse inveni … coniicio bifariam locum illum ita esse salsissimum, et ex eo quod montis salsuginem concipiens glutit, quem unda marginalis indesinenter lambit et ex decursione imbrium de monte ipso in lacum fluentium, sive abyssus in tantum sit concava, ut mare magnum, quod est salsum, invisibili refluxu in eandem abysuum sub terra influat."

siege of Jerusalem, it was his contemporaries at the *Templum Domini* who took full advantage of the urgency of such a prospect.

5 Achard of Arrouaise

Shortly after the First Crusade, a canon from northern-French Arras by the name of Achard or Aicard settled in Jerusalem.[39] There he became the leader of a group of canons who had established themselves at the Dome of the Rock, which they called the Lord's Temple or *Templum Domini*. When the crusaders captured Jerusalem on July 15, 1099, they slaughtered nearly all the city's inhabitants.[40] Rampant looting occurred in the chaotic aftermath, most notoriously in the Dome of the Rock, where a group led by the Norman Tancred stripped the Muslim sanctuary of its treasures.

This affront may have inspired Achard, as leader of a fledgling community of canons at the *Templum Domini*, to lodge an appeal to the king by way of an elaborate Latin poem, probably sometime before the end of 1112.[41] Achard made the case that the *Templum Domini* was such a sacred site that the loss of its treasures and the refusal of Tancred and his men to return them, was unacceptable. Accordingly, Achard adduced numerous biblical episodes attesting to the site's importance. One of the few extra-biblical sources he utilized was Josephus. He drew upon the *Jewish War* as a terrifying example of what would come to pass if the Franks followed in the footsteps of the Jews, portraying the devastating defeat of the Jews by the Romans in 70 AD as a divinely-ordained punishment for their sins and treachery toward Christ: "When the span of forty-two years had passed since the days of the Lord's passion, the Roman Emperors Titus and Vespasian came against [the Jews] as avengers of such great sins."[42] Achard hammers the point home with a lengthy and lurid versification of the

39 On the life of Achard of Arrouaise, see Yolles, *Making the East Latin*, 90–1 and the recent study of regular canons in the Latin East: Wolf Zöller, *Regularkanoniker im Heiligen Land: Studien zur Kirchen-, Ordens- und Frömmigkeitsgeschichte der Kreuzfahrerstaaten* (Berlin: 2018), 113.

40 For an overview of the sources, see Benjamin Z. Kedar, "The Jerusalem Massacre of July 1099 in the Western Historiography of the Crusades," *Crusades* 3 (2004): 15–75.

41 For the poem, see Paul Lehmann, "Die mittellateinischen Dichtungen der Prioren des Tempels von Jerusalem Acardus und Gaufridus," in *Corona quernea, Festgabe Karl Strecker zum 80. Geburtstage dargebracht* (Leipzig: 1941), 296–330. On the dating, see Yolles, *Making the East Latin*, 92–3.

42 Achard of Arrouaise, *Super Templo Salomonis*, ed. Lehmann, 683–6: "Evolutis a diebus passionis Domini / quadraginta et duorum annorum curriculis / Titus et Vespasianus, Romanorum principes / superveniunt tantorum peccatorum vindices."

infamous episode in Book 6 of the *Jewish War*, known as the *teknophagia*, in which a starving Jewish mother kills and eats her own child, to the horror of the besieged, as well as the Roman besiegers, who immediately lay waste to the city and to the Temple.[43]

If the Frankish thieves fail to return the stolen treasure to the Temple, Achard ends his poem, it will be an "eternal opprobrium" before God.[44] The not-so-subtle implication is that God will dispatch a typological counterpart to Vespasian and Titus' divine avengers to punish the Franks. As with Fulcher, there is little indication that Achard viewed the crusaders themselves in a typological relation with the Romans—or at least, he did so no longer. Indeed, this typology would be impossible in Achard's presentation of both groups: he labels Vespasian and Titus "avengers of the sins" of the Jews, whereas he identifies the crusaders who looted the *Templum Domini* and who "claim to be defenders of the faith" as "enemies of the Lord."[45]

Achard, who later attended the Council of Nablus, used the typology of the Franks as Israelites to advance the interests of the *Templum Domini*.[46] He called King Baldwin, his addressee, the "successor to King David," and warned him that, if the Franks refused to abandon their sinful ways—in this case, by retaining the stolen treasure—they would all suffer divine punishment, as so frequently befell the Israelites in the Old Testament.[47]

While Achard had turned to Josephus as one of several authorities, his successor Geoffrey made the Josephan corpus a focal point of his literary activity.

6 Geoffrey the Abbot

Geoffrey followed in the footsteps of his predecessor at the *Templum Domini* by composing lengthy poems containing an urgent message. The first of these is a poem based on the first and second books of the Maccabees.[48] Geoffrey skillfully combined both biblical texts into a coherent narrative, but his greatest accomplishment was to embed within the poem a guide to an allegorical interpretation of the books of the Maccabees. Geoffrey claimed that these

43 Achard of Arrouaise, *Super Templo Salomonis*, ed. Lehmann, 716–40, corresponding to *Jewish War* 201–29 (Niese).

44 Achard of Arrouaise, *Super Templo Salomonis*, ed. Lehmann, 805.

45 Achard of Arrouaise, *Super Templo Salomonis*, ed. Lehmann, 19–20.

46 See the list of attendees in William of Tyre, *Chronicon*, ed. Huygens, 12.13.

47 Achard of Arrouaise, *Super Templo Salomonis*, ed. Lehmann, 24–25.

48 On the life of Geoffrey, see Yolles, *Making the East Latin*, 101–3.

texts should be read as an injunction to refrain from the practice of simony, a sin that included the buying and selling of ecclesiastical offices. The canons of the *Templum Domini*, who observed the rule of Augustine that had been promoted as part of the Gregorian Reforms, seem to have regarded themselves as champions of the fight against simony, as also demonstrated by the fact that they had inscribed below a painting inside the *Templum Domini* the biblical passage in which Christ cast out the "buyers and sellers" from the Temple.[49] Thus, while Achard's poem had provided the *Templum Domini* with an institutional history, Geoffrey sought to place the *Templum Domini* at the center of Jerusalem as the voice of moral authority.

It is Geoffrey's second poem that we will focus on for our present purposes. Geoffrey presented the poem in the opening lines as a continuation of, or a sequel to, his poem on the Maccabees, which had ended with a warning to his contemporaries not to disregard the lessons that can be learned from history.[50] Geoffrey's second poem, which centers on the events leading up to the Jewish War and culminates in a narrative of the destruction of the city and the Temple within, was therefore primarily intended as a warning of what might come to pass. For example, Geoffrey referred to a passage in the Gospel of Luke to explain the Roman siege of Jerusalem as a fulfillment of Christ's prophecy: "But Titus, having laid waste with his army to the entire province of the Jews, besieges Jerusalem. Then was fulfilled what had been foretold: When the all-knowing Lord, gazing upon the city, wept for its destruction."[51] This passage held particular poignancy for the community of canons at the *Templum Domini*, since it immediately precedes the episode in which Christ evicts the moneylenders from the Temple that was inscribed in the *Templum Domini*. Geoffrey therefore drew an intimate connection between Christ's prophecy, the Roman siege of Jerusalem, and the Frankish *Templum Domini*.

Geoffrey made the link to his institution explicit when describing how Titus attempted to persuade the Jews to surrender: "Frequently Titus commiserated

49 See the descriptions in the pilgrim guides of John of Würzburg and Theoderich: *John of Würzburg*, ed. Huygens, 119–129; Theoderich, ed. Huygens, 22–24.

50 Geoffrey the Abbot, *Super libris Machabeorum*, ed. Eyal Poleg, "On the Books of Maccabees: An Unpublished Poem by Geoffrey, Prior of the 'Templum Domini,'" *Crusades* 9 (2010): 13–56, at ll. 1168–70: "Nunc autem dicunt plurimi preteritorum nescii / Huic nostro similia nunquam fuisse tempora, / Qui si nossent preterita hec dicerent felicia."

51 Geoffrey the Abbot, *De septem libris Iosephi*, ed. Julian Yolles, "Geoffrey, Prior of the *Templum Domini*, *On the Seven Books of Josephus*," *Crusades* 13 (2014): 77–118, at ll. 537–41: "At Tytus, cum exercitu devastans in circuitu / Iudaicam provinciam, obsedit Ierosolimam. / Tunc quidem adimpletum est quod antea predictum est: / Videlicet cum Dominus civitatem intuitus, / Cunctarum rerum prescius, ruinam fleret ipsius."

with them and beseeched them to look out for themselves and to live in peace, and not to allow the city and the *Templum Domini* to be destroyed."[52] Geoffrey drew upon Josephus' characterization of the future Roman emperor Titus as a merciful ruler reluctant to engage the Jews of Jerusalem. Yet where the Latin Josephus described Titus' concern for the Jewish Temple, Geoffrey referred to the "Lord's Temple" (*Templum Domini*), thus making a connection between the Jewish Temple destroyed by the Romans and his own institution.[53]

Speeches such as these, including the lengthy orations of Herod Agrippa II and of Josephus (the author's character as introduced into the narrative), comprise over a quarter of Geoffrey's poem and seemed to have been considered the most salient elements of Josephus' *Jewish War*.[54] In his original work, the author Josephus saw frequent opportunity to refer to his own actions during the Jewish War in the third person, presenting himself as one of the main characters of the narrative. In his versification, Geoffrey appears to treat the two figures separately, consistently referring to the author as *Iosephus* and to the character as *Iosippus*.[55] Although Josephus' role in his own work was known in the Middle Ages, it is notable that Geoffrey appears to have distinguished between the venerable authority Josephus and the character Josippus, whose Jewish identity receives marked emphasis.[56] Although Geoffrey's treatment of Josephus as a split identity may have stemmed from a misapprehension, it parallels medieval Christian efforts to elide the Maccabees' Jewish identity.[57] While Frankish authors such as Fulcher, Achard, and Geoffrey seem to have viewed some of the events of the Jewish War from the perspective of Jerusalem's inhabitants, their attitudes toward Jews remained complicated.

Geoffrey's lively versification of Herod Agrippa II's speech to the Jerusalemites forms a high point of the poem, in which Geoffrey showcased his

52 Geoffrey the Abbot, *De septem libris Iosephi*, ed. Yolles, 557–9: *Sepe Tytus misertus est eosque deprecatus est / Ut sibimet consulerent et ut in pace viverent, / Nec paterentur destrui urbem Templumque Domini.*

53 Latin Josephus 6.4 (Niese 124).

54 See Lake and Kletter on speeches in Josephus and Hegesippus.

55 The author appears as *Iosephus* in Geoffrey the Abbot, *De septem libris Iosephi*, ed. Yolles, 1, 3, and 641 while the character *Iosippus* figures at 812, 826, 830, and 899.

56 Geoffrey's contemporary Otto of Freising referred to Josephus' actions during the Jewish War and to his historical account: Otto of Freising, *Chronica*, ed. Walther Lammers, *Chronik oder Die Geschichte der zwei Staaten* (Darmstadt: 1961), 3.17. For *Iosippus*' Jewish identity, see Geoffrey the Abbot, *De septem libris Iosephi*, ed. Yolles, 812–14: "Iosippus … homo Iudeus genere dixit eis Hebraice, and 825–7: loquebatur Iudaice / Iosippus, ut Iudaicus vel sic amaret populus … materna lingua cognita."

57 Daniel Joslyn-Siemiatkoski termed such treatment an "allosemitic attitude": Daniel Joslyn-Siemiatkoski, *Christian Memories of the Maccabean Martyrs* (New York: 2009), 8.

rhetorical talents. Befitting a rousing speech, Geoffrey infused the passage with rhetorical figures, beginning with a series of five rhetorical questions and continuing with the use of asyndeton (*domuit, fecit*; *velit, nolit, nunc perficit*). The vividness, or *enargeia*, of the "Arab, pitching his tent in the impassable regions of the desert" (*Arabs figens tentoria per desertum et invia*) is striking (note also the *hendiadys* in *per desertum et invia*), as is the image of Xerxes, whose fleet was so vast that he was said to "sail the land and walk the sea" (*per terram navigans et super fretum ambulans*). Moreover, the image of a haughty foreign ruler whose fleet is reduced to a single skiff (*sic redactus ad nichilum / ut fugeret per equora, vectus una navicula*) recalls Horace's description of Cleopatra's defeat at the Battle of Actium (*Odes* 1.37).[58]

As in his poem on the Maccabees, Geoffrey maintained a sustained focus on the dangers of simony by emphasizing episodes of the Jewish War dealing with greed. In a highly original passage, Geoffrey portrayed the demise of Crassus' army in a lively style (e.g.: *Ecce Crassus adveniens*, "Lo! Crassus arrived"), and interpreted the event as just recompense for Crassus' plunder of the Temple.[59] Geoffrey framed the episode with word play as Crassus' thirst for gold (*aurum plus iusto sitiens*) resulted in his drowning, and he ironically ended up "drinking his gold" (*aurum ebibit*).

The highly rhetorical nature of a poem filled with cautionary speeches to the Jewish inhabitants of Jerusalem lends the text a sustained urgency. Given that the versification of the books of the Maccabees ends on a note of warning to the contemporary Franks of Jerusalem not to ignore the past, Geoffrey's verses on the *Jewish War* must be viewed as an urgent history lesson for the city's current inhabitants. As a new Josephus, he warned his fellow Franks to learn from history and not to allow Jerusalem and the *Templum Domini* to be destroyed by God's wrath over their sinful behavior.

Unlike Achard, who had cast into verse the infamous episode of cannibalism during the siege of Jerusalem, Geoffrey did not dwell on some of the more gruesome events. His concern instead seems to have been to integrate the Josephan narrative within a biblical framework, and, to a lesser extent, to relate the events to a wider panorama of Roman history.[60] The poem is thus a tour de force in combining source materials from the Josephan corpus with the

58 See especially Horace, *Carmina*, ed. D.R. Shackleton Bailey, Teubner (Stuttgart: 1985), 1.37.16: "vix una sospes navis ab ignibus."

59 Geoffrey the Abbot, *De septem libris Iosephi*, ed. Yolles, 279–85.

60 For example, Geoffrey referred readers to Lucan's *Bellum Civile* for a more extensive treatment of the Roman Civil War (ll. 294–5), and cited Hannibal's famous crossing of the Alps into Italy (ll. 759–67).

synoptic gospels. In his description of the death of Herod Agrippa, for instance, Geoffrey incorporated elements from the *Jewish War*, the *Jewish Antiquities*, as well as the book of Acts. The reflection (*repercussio* vs. *repercussa*), the light (*fulgore, fulgidus*), the people looking on (*inspicientibus, intuentium*), and the same word used for Herod being struck (*percussus*) all parallel the Latin translation of the *Antiquities*. Geoffrey also drew on the Vulgate translation of Acts to present Herod as struck by the angel, while borrowing several other elements: the word for pulpit (*tribunal*), the verb *contionari*, the royal vestment, and the people's exclamation.[61]

In combining Josephus with the book of Acts, Geoffrey introduced an innovation by changing Josephus' description of Herod's clothing as made of silver to one made of gems and gold.[62] An author of a pilgrim guide named Rorgo Fretellus, active in Antioch from 1138 onward, appears to have borrowed from Geoffrey's depiction of Agrippa's death, for he combines Josephan and New Testament materials in nearly identical ways:[63] "In which [city] Herod Agrippa the Younger, seated on his throne and regally decorated with purple robes interwoven with gems and gold, was struck by divine vengeance when he tried to elevate himself to a deity, and died in public."[64] Like Geoffrey, Rorgo also included the detail that Agrippa's clothing was made of gems and gold. Geoffrey's poem, therefore, seems to have been known beyond the kingdom of Jerusalem, and his condensed version of the Josephan text, combined with the relevant biblical passages, may have made for a convenient reference work that saved authors such as Rorgo Fretellus the trouble of sifting through a lengthy historical account.[65]

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61 Geoffrey the Abbot, *De septem libris Iosephi*, ed. Yolles, 667–76.

62 Geoffrey may have looked to the *De excidio*'s treatment of the funeral of Antipater II (ed. Ussani, 1.46): "lectus erat auro totus et gemmis insignitus, stratum refulgens murice, corpus adopertum purpurea diploide."

63 Rorgo Fretellus wrote a pilgrim guide of which two redactions made by him survive, both dating to ca. 1138. After spending the early years of his career in Nazareth, Rorgo probably resided in Antioch when he composed the pilgrim guides. For the dating, see Rudolf Hiestand, "Un centre intellectuel en Syrie du Nord? Notes sur la personnalité d'Aimeri d'Antioche, Albert de Tarse et *Rorgo Fretellus*," *Le Moyen Âge* 101 (1994): 7–36, at 19–32.

64 Rorgo Fretellus, *Descripcio cuiusdam de locis sanctis*, ed. P.C. Boeren (Amsterdam: 1980), 74: "In qua et Herodes Iunior Agrippa videlicet in throno suo residens purpureis vestibus gemmis auroque contextis regie decoratus est velut Deum se sublimans ulcione divina percussus in publico pessumdatus expiravit."

65 The one instance in which Rorgo refers to Josephus is sufficiently vague (*Iosepho testante*) that it could have come from an intermediary such as Geoffrey's versification: Rorgo Fretellus, *Descripcio*, ed. Boeren 1980, at 62.

7 William of Tyre

One final careful reader of Josephus was active in Jerusalem and Tyre in the second half of the 12th century. William of Tyre was born in Jerusalem *c*. 1130 and, after extensive studies spanning 19 years in the most important centers of education in western Europe, returned to the Latin East for an illustrious career culminating in a position as chancellor of the kingdom of Jerusalem and later archbishop of Tyre. William composed the most renowned historical work to originate from the Latin East, for which he too had frequent recourse to Josephus.

Prior to his account of the capture of Jerusalem in the First Crusade, William presented an extensive historical and geographical description of the city.[66] He prominently cited both *De excidio* and the Latin Josephus, whose authors he viewed as distinct from one another. He invoked them as "excellent writers and renowned historiographers" (*egregii scriptores et illustres historiographi*) and appealed to them as authorities to describe Titus as a "magnificent Roman emperor," divinely sent to punish the Jews for their sins by destroying their city.[67] Given that these remarks immediately precede his account of the crusader capture of Jerusalem and the destruction that followed, the typological connection between the crusaders and the Romans is unmistakable. Here, as elsewhere in his narrative of the First Crusade, William relied closely on Albert of Aachen's treatment.[68] But where Albert referred to both Titus and Vespasian as divine agents sent to fulfill Christ's prophecy, William more accurately attributed the city's destruction to Titus alone and drew a connection between his own work and ancient histories by explicitly citing the *De excidio* and the Latin Josephus as his prime authorities.

In the prologue to the final and unfinished book, William similarly associated his project with ancient historiography. Writing in the year 1184—three years before the fateful Battle of Hattin—, William claimed to be hesitant to put pen to parchment to cover the Latin East's recent calamitous turns of fortune. Yet, he set before himself the examples of Livy and Josephus, who did not shy from treating both the favorable and adverse events befalling their people. Like Achard of Arrouaise and Geoffrey the Abbot before him, William hoped that his narrative of unfortunate events might render posterity more cautious.[69] While it may be tempting to view William as cognizant of the impending disasters, we

66 William of Tyre, *Chronicon*, ed. Huygens, 8.1–4.
67 William of Tyre, *Chronicon*, ed. Huygens, 8.2.17–23.
68 Albert of Aachen, *Historia Ierosolimitana*, ed. Edgington, 6.24.
69 William of Tyre, *Chronicon*, ed. Huygens, 23.prol.40–45.

may avoid the pitfalls of a teleological reading by instead regarding William's preface as an effort to participate in an historiographical tradition. This was partly a more recent Levantine tradition, for William's sentiments (if not outright phrasing) closely resemble Walter the Chancellor's preface to the second book of the *Wars of Antioch* (ca. 1122–27).[70] Yet it was also an ancient tradition that stretched back to Livy and Josephus. While William has been shown to have utilized Livian phrases and categories, Josephus seems to have functioned as one of his chief historiographical models.[71]

A detailed examination of William's use of Josephan materials reveals a nuanced and profound engagement with Josephus as a writer of history. For instance, a comparison between William's prologue to Book 1 and Josephus' prefatory remarks to the *Jewish War* demonstrates William's thorough absorption of Josephus' historiographic mode. In addition to employing terms and grammatical constructions drawn from the Latin Josephus, William's reflections on his métier as a historian are indebted to those of Josephus, even if his sentiments are his own and differ in important ways from those of Josephus. For example, William's discussion of the pitfalls of historiography, in which truthful accuracy is a more dangerous enterprise than obsequious flattery, parallels Josephus' avowed aim to present a more accurate account than previous historians, who misrepresented the events to please the Romans.[72] In similar language, William asks the reader for an indulgence—not, as Josephus had requested, for the author's emotional investment in the events, but for his limited ability to perform extensive and sustained historical analysis, constrained as he was by his archiepiscopal duties.[73] Both authors, however, shared patriotism as their prime motivation in writing: William spoke of "a most pressing love for his fatherland" (*urgentissimus instat amor patrie*), while Josephus criticized earlier histories of the *Jewish War* for disparaging the Jews.[74] Even in outlining his table of contents, William engaged with a similarly programmatic passage at the start of the *Jewish War*. While Josephus announced that he would pass over much of Jewish history, including how the Israelites had

70 Walter the Chancellor, *Bella Antiochena*, ed. Heinrich Hagenmeyer (Innsbruck: 1896), 2.prol.

71 For William's use of Livy, see Miriam Rita Tessera, "*Prudentes homines … qui sensus habebant magis exercitatos*: A Preliminary Inquiry into William of Tyre's Vocabulary of Power," *Crusades* 1 (2002): 63–71 and Conor Kostick, "William of Tyre, Livy, and the Vocabulary of Class," *Journal of the History of Ideas* 65:3 (2004): 353–68.

72 William of Tyre, *Chronicon*, ed. Huygens, prol.1–33; Latin Josephus 1.prol.1 (Niese 1–3).

73 William of Tyre, *Chronicon*, ed. Huygens, prol.106–18; Latin Josephus 1.prol.4 (Niese 11).

74 William of Tyre, *Chronicon*, ed. Huygens, prol.66–7; Latin Josephus 1.prol.1 and 3 (Niese 1 and 7–8).

been led out of Egypt into the Promised Land, William instead declared that he would begin by narrating how the crusaders had been led out from the western kingdoms into the Promised Land.[75]

Like Fulcher of Chartres, William employed Josephus as one of his chief authorities on Levantine history and geography.[76] In his descriptions of the Levantine cities Tyre and Paneas (Banias), William offered lengthy quotations from the *Antiquities*, indicating the book number from which he cited. For example, in preparation for his treatment of the Frankish capture of Tyre in 1124, William adduced a range of authorities on the ancient city's illustrious history, including the *Digest*, Lucan, Virgil, Ezekiel, Isaiah, Jerome, and Josephus, whom he quoted twice in short succession. Given that the city was home to William's archiepiscopal see, he appears to have been keen to lavish the passage with scholarly attention. Shortly afterward, William again adduced a series of quotations from the *Jewish Antiquities* as evidence that the city had stood at the center of earlier conquerors' interests, including Nebuchadnezzar, Alexander the Great, and the Assyrian king Shalmaneser. Like Fulcher, it appears that William had a copy of Josephus (though in this case of the *Antiquities* rather than the *Jewish War*) in front of him as he worked.

As with Fulcher, William did not merely rifle through Josephus for relevant information, but emulated and, in some instances, challenged or sought to improve on Josephus. For example, in discussing the etymology of the toponym Beersheba, William quotes from the *Jewish Antiquities* by name, before supplementing Josephus' explanation with an etymology drawn from Jerome, although not attributed, and concludes the passage with his own unique contribution by supplying the Arabic version of the toponym along with an explanation.[77]

William of Tyre's and Fulcher of Chartres' extensive utilization of the Josephan corpus went beyond the consultation of an authority and indicates a long-term ambition to become part of a literary and historiographical tradition. Lars Boje Mortensen recently argued that authors such as William of Tyre sought to become part of a "virtual library," an "eternally valid" constellation

75 William of Tyre, *Chronicon,* ed. Huygens, prol.89–106; Latin Josephus 1.prol.6 (Niese 17).

76 For quotations of Josephus, see William of Tyre, *Chronicon*, ed. Huygens, 13.1.65–79; 13.4.16–20, 23–24, 25–26, 27–28, 31–48; 14.22.40–44; for implicit references to Josephus (*ut veterum habent traditiones*), see: 3.20.13; 7.14.5; 7.15.14; 10.14.5.

77 William of Tyre, *Chronicon*, ed. Huygens, 14.22.39; drawing on *Jewish Antiquities* 1.12.1 and Jerome, *Liber interpretationis hebraicorum nominum*, eds. Paul de Lagarde, Germain Morin, and Marc Adriaen, CCSL 72 (Turnhout: 1959) 3, 20, 62, and 103.

of authorities that may or may not be present at any given material library.[78] William's occasional references to the presence of his own work in physical libraries can thus be regarded as bridging this gap between the eternal and the temporal. In fact, these references too parallel the Josephan tradition: William's indication to his readership that his account of the Third Lateran Council could be found in the archive of the church of Tyre (*in archivo sancte Tyrensis ecclesie*) closely resembles an earlier quotation of the *Jewish Antiquities*, in turn citing (the now lost) historian Menander, whose work, according to Josephus, could be found in the archive of the Tyrians (*in archivis Tyriorum*).[79] Just as William could bridge time by quoting an ancient author, who in turn referenced the existence of historical records in an earlier library of Tyre, so did he aspire to become part of a library collection—both virtual and material—in the future. Returning to the catalogue of the church of Nazareth cited at the start of this paper, William may well have expected to one day be listed in a library catalogue alongside the works of Flavius Josephus.

8 Conclusion

The first few decades of the 12th-century Latin East witnessed the development of a common mode of reading the works of Flavius Josephus. We encounter this shared approach to Josephus among authors who wrote in a variety of forms and genres, spanning historiography, poetry, and the pilgrim guide. For the first four decades, these readers of Josephus were remarkably closely connected: in the first place, there is Fulcher of Chartres who, as chaplain at the court of Baldwin, first king of Jerusalem, may well have known Achard, prior of the *Templum Domini*, who may have addressed a poem to the same Baldwin. Geoffrey, Achard's successor at the *Templum*, composed a lengthy poem on the *Jewish War*, which seems to have been known to Rorgo Fretellus, an author of a pilgrim guide based in Antioch in the late 1130s.

For the Latin settlers of the Levant in these first years after the crusader conquest of Jerusalem, their location had a profound impact on their engagement with Josephus. To these new citizens of Jerusalem, Josephus' writings acquired a troubling significance, which could be exploited by enterprising leaders of recently established religious communities such as that at the *Templum*

78 Lars Boje Mortensen, "The Material and the Implied Library: Book Collections, Media History, and Authority in Twelfth Century Papal Europe," in *Reframing Authority: The Role of Media and Materiality*, eds. Laura Feldt and Christian Høgel (Sheffield: 2018), 65–84.

79 William of Tyre, *Chronicon*, ed. Huygens, 21.26.76–77; 13.4.47–48.

Domini. Achard of Arrouaise and Geoffrey the Abbot saw in Josephus crucial moral lessons that could only be grasped through their own authoritative typological reading.

We concluded our survey with William of Tyre, a native of the Latin East whose approach to Josephus shared important traits with that of Fulcher. Of all the writers under discussion, William hewed the closest to a "western European reading" of Josephus: he referenced the Latin Josephus and *De excidio* in his treatment of the First Crusade and highlighted the latter's Christian interpretation of the causes of the Jewish War before treating the crusader capture of Jerusalem. Yet both William and Fulcher were highly conscious of their privileged position in the Latin East as writers of Levantine history with access to both ancient sources and firsthand information. Their sustained engagement with Josephus as a writer, and not merely as a mine of information, indicates that both authors aspired to achieve a status comparable to Josephus' venerable authority.

While these Latin authors of the 12th-century Levant wrote in different genres and contexts, they shared a concern for meeting the needs of their audience—be they pilgrims, canons, or members of a lay court—to provide their fledgling communities with a rich, meaningful past by drawing on Josephus' ancient Levantine pedigree.

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The works of Titus Flavius Josephus ben Matthias on biblical history and the Jewish war were read and studied throughout the Latin West during the Middle Ages. Each generation of Christian scholars had to contend with the Jewish writer's text, reputation, and content. This volume demonstrates the complex relationship between Josephus' legacy and his readers who sought to make use of that legacy across the period of 500 to 1300.

Contributors include: Carson Bay, Susan Edgington, Anthony Ellis, Paul C. Hilliard, Karen M. Kletter, Justin Lake, Richard M. Pollard, Graeme Ward, and Julian Yolles.

Karen M. Kletter is McLean Professor of History at Methodist University, Fayetteville, North Carolina. Her research interests are in intellectual and cultural history, historiography, and Jewish-Christian relations in the central Middle Ages. She has published articles related to the medieval reception of the Latin Josephus tradition in *The Wiley Companion to Josephus* (2016) and on the destruction of Jerusalem in Anglo-Norman historiography, "Politics, Prophecy, and Jews" in *Jews in Medieval Christendom: Slay Them Not* (Brill 2013).

Paul C. Hilliard is an Associate Professor and Chair in the department of Church History at the University of St. Mary of the Lake/Mundelein Seminary. His research is focused on early medieval intellectual history, especially the writings of Bede. His most recent publication is "Bede's Martyrology: A Resource and Spiritual Lesson" in *Bede the Scholar*, eds. P. Draby and M. MacCarron (Manchester: 2023).

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